MAY 18, 1981 $1.50

TIME

Troubled Israel

Military Tensions · Chaotic Economy · Election Showdown

0 10090 20 724404

'82 CHEVY

CAVALIER

COMPLETE FROM A TO Z.

A AM radio with quartz digital clock and dual front speakers. (May be deleted for credit.)

B Bigger than a Chevette, smaller than a Citation.

C Complete list of 43 standard features:

1. Front-wheel drive
2. 1.8 Liter 4-cylinder transverse engine
3. 4-speed manual overdrive transmission
4. Power-assisted front disc/rear drum brakes
5. Glass-belted radial tires
6. Computer Command Control
7. Rack-and-pinion steering
8. MacPherson-strut front suspension
9. Push-button AM radio with dual front speakers (may be deleted for credit)
10. Quartz digital clock (integral with radio)
11. Front stabilizer bar
12. Freedom II maintenance-free battery
13. Large capacity (14-gallon) fuel tank
14. Day/night inside rearview mirror
15. Side window defoggers
16. Electric rear window defogger
17. Tri-color, segmented tail lamps with amber turn signals (except wagon)
18. Flow-thru power ventilation system
19. Locking gas filler door with cap holder
20. Acoustical insulation
21. Accessible in-dash flip-down fuse panel
22. Remote trunk/hatchback/tailgate release
23. Body side moldings
24. Styled steel Rally wheels
25. Bumper rub strips
26. Reclining contoured front seats
27. Assist grip above each passenger door
28. Console with rear ashtray and coin holder
29. Plastisol* lower body stone-chip protection
30. Color-keyed seat and shoulder belts
31. Color-keyed carpeting
32. Extended front seat track
33. Column-mounted "Smart Switch"
34. Cigarette lighter and ashtray lamp
35. Glove compartment lock
36. Styled outside rearview mirror
37. 31 separate anti-corrosion-treatment areas
38. Resettable trip odometer
39. Passenger guard door locks
40. Side-lift jack
41. Double-panel construction in doors, hood and trunk lid
42. Strong, lightweight steel bumpers (except hatchback)
43. Audible disc brake wear sensors

D Defoggers, side and rear windows.

E Economy. **43** EST. HWY./ **26** EPA EST. MPG.* Calif. and Wagon **42** EST. HWY.

F Front-wheel-drive traction for snow, mud or wet streets.

G GM's Computer Command Control.

H Head and hip room enough to seat four adults very comfortably.

I Interior room of 4-Door Sedan is superior to that of a Toyota Corolla or Corona, Datsun 210, Honda Accord or VW Rabbit.

J J-Car translates into a car with the latest GM technology.

K Knee room enough to satisfy a 6'5" American.

L Laser beams measure body fit to make sure every single Cavalier passes demanding tolerance tests.

M Models include a family sedan, slick hatchback, classy coupe and spacious wagon.

N Newly developed 1.8 Liter 4-cylinder transverse engine.

O Overdrive 4-speed manual transmission.

P Power front disc brakes, power ventilation system, Plastisol* lower body protection, and a powerfully appealing Chevy price.

Q Quality checks at the factory total more than 1,000.

R Reclining front seats, Rally wheels and rack-and-pinion steering.

S Smooth ride.

T Tested, retested and tested again to become the most thoroughly tested new car in Chevy's history.

U Unitized body automatically inspected by robots for weld integrity.

V Vital statistics: □ Cavalier's 101-inch wheelbase helps provide a smooth ride and is longer than that of a Honda Accord. □ The trunk holds eight pieces of luggage and is superior in size to that of a Datsun 210, Honda Accord or Toyota Corolla sedan.

W Warranties: 12,000-mile (24,000 miles for drive train) limited warranty; plus a 3-year limited warranty against perforation from corrosion. See your dealer for details.

X X rays scan construction to assure alignment of interior parts.

Y You're invited to test drive Cavalier at any one of more than 5,600 Chevy dealers across the country. If you'd like, bring in a friend who's an engineer and let him go over it inch by inch. Even the most skeptical person will appreciate Cavalier's quality and engineering.

Z Zinc-precoated metals and 30 other anti-corrosion treatments help protect Cavalier from the elements.

AT YOUR CHEVY DEALER THURSDAY MAY 21ST.

*Use estimated MPG for comparisons. Your mileage may differ depending on speed, distance, weather. Actual highway mileage lower.

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MAY 18, 1981 Vol. 117 No. 20

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

As international attention once again focused on Israel, TIME Jerusalem Bureau Chief David Aikman was reminded of some advice that the Israelis often pass on to arriving foreign journalists: "Anything can happen." After reporting this week's cover story, Aikman is convinced. Says he: "In January the local gurus were predicting that the annual inflation rate would reach 200% and the Labor Party would maintain its lead until the June elections. Within a few months, all of the safest predictions were sourly mocked by events themselves." Aikman also marvels at the business-as-usual attitude of the Israelis, despite a growing list of problems. Says he: "Children play in the street, lovers stroll in the park, and concerts have the customary intensity of performance and appreciation. Whatever their country's ills, Israelis never fail to surprise outsiders with their capacity to live with uncertainty."

Assisting Aikman was TIME's Robert Slater, who interviewed former Defense Minister Ezer Weizman and former Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan. Slater found that the fortunes of Israeli leaders are as unpredictable as the country. Says he: "Israeli politics is like the proverbial seesaw: it goes up one month and descends the next." Correspondent Marlin Levin, who has covered Israel off and on since 1948, spoke with a cross section of citizens—from mothers to officeworkers to university professors—to assess the national mood. "When I first came here as a correspondent for the United Press, life went on under continual shelling and sniping as Israelis and Jordanians fought over the city," says Levin. "Never has the country been so militarily powerful, and its people so economically well off. Still, the future is unsure."

DAVID RUBINGER

Aikman with Prime Minister Begin

Associate Editor Mayo Mohs, who wrote this week's story, is well versed on the subject of Jews and Israel. As TIME's religion writer from 1969 to 1975, he wrote a number of stories on the clashes among Israel's various ethnic and religious factions; he also wrote last year's cover story on terrorism in the Middle East. "Despite the threat of wars and the reality of inflation, many Jews consider it their duty to go to live in Israel," says Mohs. "The importance of Israel to the identity of all Jews is one thing that will probably never change."

John a. Meyer

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Cover: Illustration by Julian Allen.

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Letters

Hail, *Columbia*

To the Editors:

I rose early on a rainy day to watch the televised landing of *Columbia* [April 27]. The message to Americans is clear: there isn't anything wrong with U.S.-built items. Come on, America, stop knocking your own country.

Robert A. Holmes
Picton, New Zealand

Some people view *Columbia* as a waste of money. "If you can put $10 billion into space projects, you can also put it into welfare," they say. Don't these people realize that *Columbia* has made Americans feel like giants again? The $10 billion spent on welfare would have been gone tomorrow.

Glenn H. Tarsi
Seymour, Conn.

While millions of people on this planet are crying out for something to eat, the U.S. satisfies its selfish hunger for prestige. Worse, it does it by unleashing a vehicle with terrifying military capabilities. *Columbia* is a giant step backward for mankind.

Stephen W. Murphy
Torrens Park, Australia

The smooth sailing of the *Columbia* marked the dawning of a new era for the space age. It proved to the world, especially the Soviet Union, that the shuttle is workable, reusable and real.

Wong Chong Chin
Clayton, Australia

When the Soviet Union accuses us of having military plans for the space shuttle, our response should be: "You're absolutely right—and you're the people who are making this necessary."

Desmond Leigh-Hunt
Santa Barbara, Calif.

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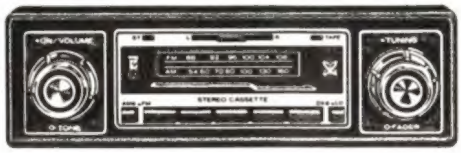

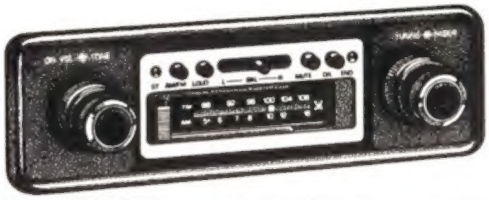

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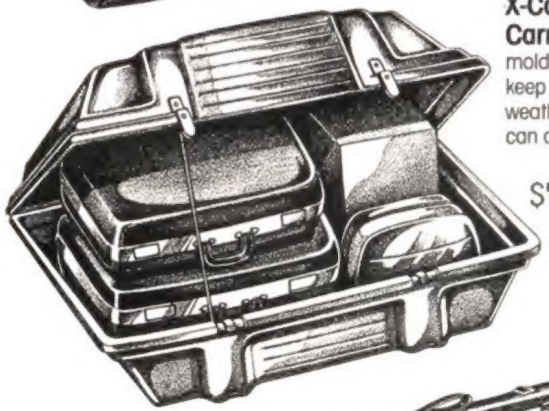

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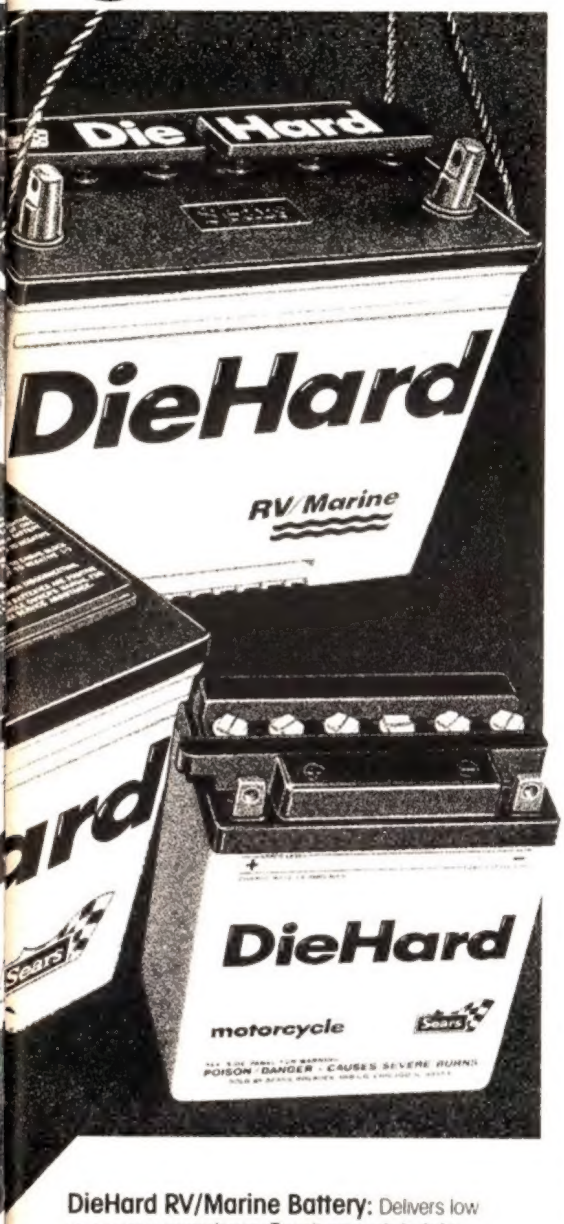

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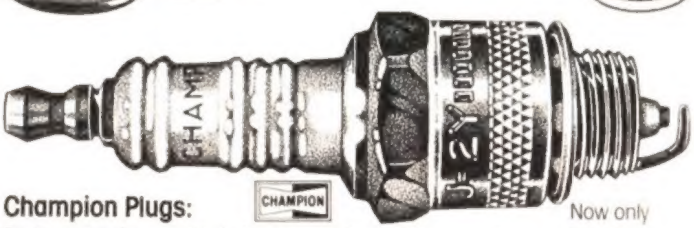

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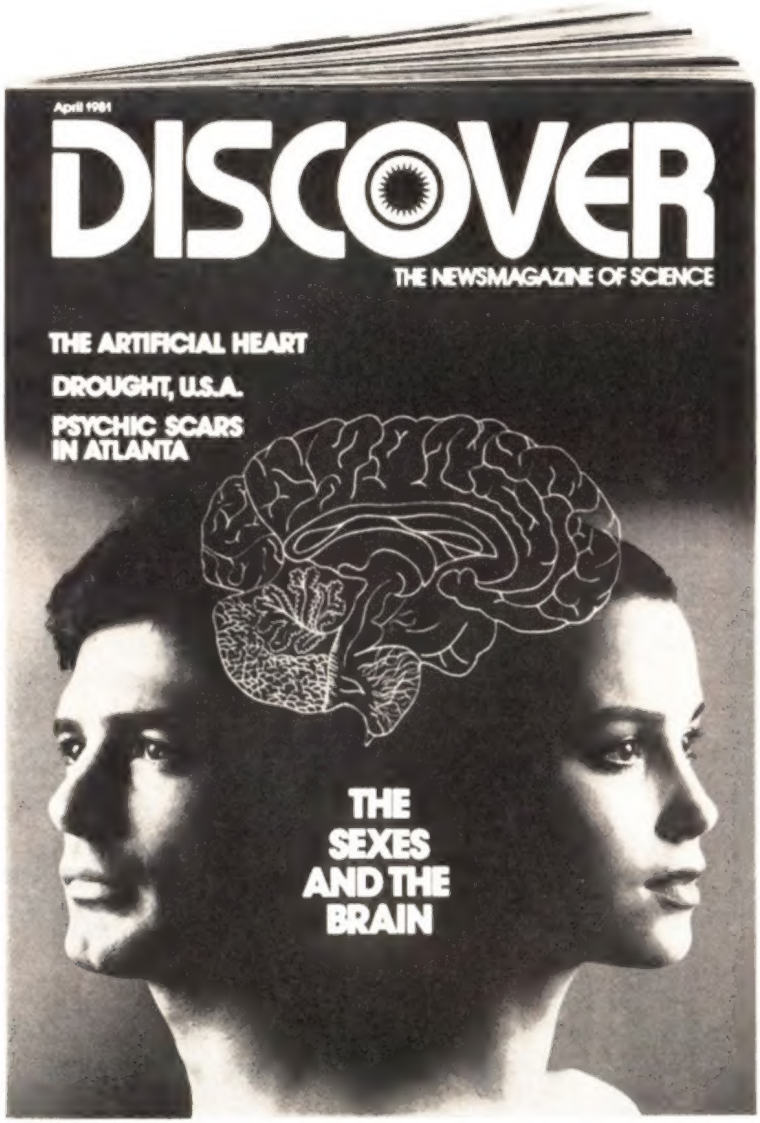

Letters

to see the magnificent control with which 50-year-old Astronaut John Young brought *Columbia* back to earth.

Douglas Smith
Auckland, New Zealand

Why was the American flag displayed backward on one side of *Columbia*?

Ethel H. Dorlon
Medford Lakes, N.J.

The flag was placed in the direction in which it would have waved on takeoff and landing had it been an actual flag.

Cooke's Tale

The newsroom clatter of our medium-sized California daily diminished as reporters gathered around the wire machine, watching in disbelief as the incredible story unfolded of Janet Cooke's fictional article about "Jimmy" for the Washington *Post* [April 27]. I cringe and wait for the person who, while I am on my next assignment, looks me in the eye and says, "Why don't you just make it up? The Washington *Post* does."

John D. O'Connor
Pleasanton, Calif.

As Janet Cooke's former teacher, I think it is important that we not lose perspective on what she has done. She is a talented young reporter whose response to the pressures of her job and of the times we live in was to make a mistake—a mistake for which others surely must share the blame. I hope that her real abilities will not be forgotten through the outcry that has ensued, and that in time she can take up where she left off in achieving the distinction she has in her to achieve.

Michael Manheim
University of Toledo
Toledo

The real culprit could be inverse racism. The reporter, a black woman, could have been put under additional pressure so that this "progressive" journal, which hires blacks and women, could point to their accomplishments.

Berman E. Deffenbaugh Jr.
San Antonio

The fraud in the Pulitzers brings up two points. One: Who controls the Pulitzer Prize board? How could 17 board members negate the decision of the Pulitzer Prize jury? The second: It is past time for the Washington *Post* to identify Deep Throat. When the paper with an unidentifiable source can bring down a President and win a Pulitzer for doing so, then that paper must come clean.

Lanthe Rush Campbell
Greeneville, Tenn.

Businessmen As Villains

TIME's story on the Media Institute report [April 27] presents a shallow analysis of why businessmen are portrayed

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5. Darien, Ct
6. Easton, Ct
7. Greenwich, Ct
8. Harrison, NY
9. Hartsdale, NY
10. Irvington, NY
11. Larchmont, NY
12. Mamaroneck, NY
13. Mt. Kisco, NY
14. Mt. Vernon, NY
15. New Canaan, Ct
16. Norwalk, Ct
17. Portchester, NY
18. Poughkeepsie, NY
19. Purchase, NY
20. Ridgefield, Ct
21. Rye, NY
22. Scarsdale, NY
23. Stamford, Ct
24. Tarrytown, NY
25. Tuckahoe, NY
26. Weston, Ct
27. Westport, Ct
28. White Plains, NY
29. Wilton, Ct
30. Yorktown, NY

30 corporations you can get to 60 minutes faster on Air Florida

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2. Cluett Peabody
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4. Champion
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6. Electrolux
7. General Electric
8. General Foods
9. WR Grace
10. IBM
11. Ingersoll-Rand
12. International Paper
13. Mobil
14. Nestle
15. Otis
16. Pepsico
17. Polychrome
18. Texaco
19. Reader's Digest
20. St. Regis Paper
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"The eight year old's reply was every parent's nightmare.

A man in a car outside the school had asked Laurie to get in just for a few minutes."

Ladies' Home Journal
February, 1981

A clear-eyed look at the ugly subject of child molestation in a women's service magazine?

Yes. In Ladies' Home Journal.

Because at the Journal, we take on an extra responsibility. It's a responsibility to bring women the finest and most topical food, beauty, home furnishings and fashion features. But even more, it's a commitment to help today's women cope in today's world.

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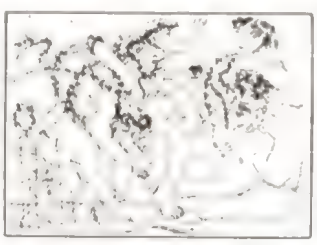

Picasso
"Sculptor and Model with Sculpture of Bull and Two Bacchants," etching, 7¾ x 10½", 1933

Merrill Chase Galleries

Exhibit Openings
Water Tower, Saturday, May 23
Old Orchard, Sunday, May 24

Letters

on TV as undesirable and objectionable characters. The article implies a conspiracy among writers to defame the honest businessman. Before that image is ever projected over the air waves, the businessmen who pay for the program can decide whether or not it should be aired. J.R. Ewing of *Dallas* is on television not because he downgrades or upgrades the image of businessmen but because he sells.

Lars F. Soholt
Bolingbrook, Ill.

It is green-eyed envy, not congenital antipathy, that makes TV writers cast businessmen as villains.

Carmen Spencer
Las Vegas

Best Speed

In the U.S., with its fine highway system and vast territory, it is irrational to have the lowest speed limit of all Western countries [April 27]. An even lower speed might save more lives and fuel, but the question becomes one of practicality. High-speed driving on rural interstates, with fuel-efficient automobiles, can be done safely. The fuel saving that results from lowered speed limits is insignificant compared with the increased use of gasoline in rush-hour traffic in urban areas.

Keith Kotarski
Des Plaines, Ill.

Rolling Back Regulations

By dropping so many regulations on automobiles [April 20], the Government will allow the auto industry to undermine the consumer again. Modifying the requirement that bumpers withstand crashes at speeds up to 5 m.p.h. without a dent will surely lead to higher insurance premiums. The elimination of the tamperproof odometer only helps the shady used-car salesperson. Not requiring certain specifications for roof pillars will put another squeeze on the consumer if he happens to roll over in his machine.

Barbara and Michael Tucchio
East Lyme, Conn.

Never Too Late to Audit

In your discussion of playing audit roulette with the IRS, you perpetuated the myth offered to the taxpaying public by Paul N. Strassels [April 20] that those who file tax returns close to April 15 are less likely to face an audit.

The selection of returns for audit has absolutely nothing to do with when the returns are filed. On the contrary, all individual returns are scored by computer formulas to determine the probability that they contain error. The returns with the highest scores are then reviewed to see if the apparent error can be resolved or if the return must be audited. Taxpayers

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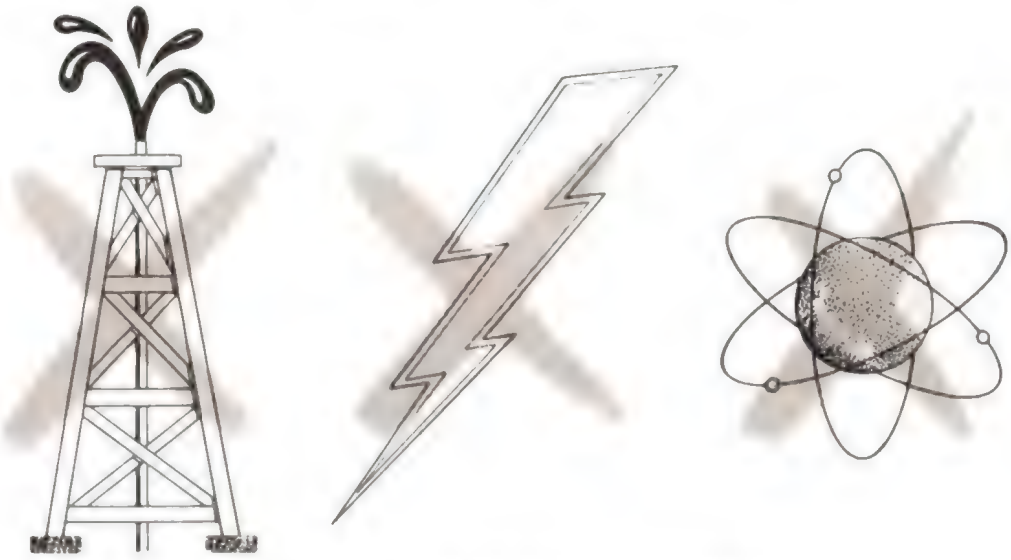

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So much has been said about the problems that America faces today that we are hesitant to add our voice to the chorus. On the other hand, the "**positive thinkers**" among us would have us believe that good thoughts and rosy rhetoric will chase our blues away!

We, here at **United Consumers Club, Inc.**, agree with the majority of our fellow citizens in this country that while problems exist, solutions also are available. Our hundreds of thousands of members are already working harder, sacrificing and more importantly, achieving the pride and quality of life that has become part of our expectant heritage. We know there are new and better ways to accomplish our goals, nationally and individually, without sacrificing our American way of life.

United Consumers Club believes that working together we, the American consumers, can contribute to the solutions all America is earnestly seeking today. May God continue to bless America.

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Go someplace where you can make the most of your time. A place where there's a high concentration of culture, activities and sights, and a place that's small enough, so it's all within easy reach. A place like the Alps, where the people genuinely like visitors and services are reliable. Everything is worked out in The Swiss Travel Invention, The Austrian Travel Invention and The Complete Summer Vacation.

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If you like to travel on your own and see just the things you like, you need a reliable place, and an organized system of travel. This way, making accommodations will be trouble-free. Maybe you'd really like to rough it a bit and take to the outdoors, or take an escorted tour, where you don't have to bother with any planning details. In the Alps, the options are unlimited. With The Swiss Travel Invention, The Austrian Travel Invention and The Complete Summer Vacation, you can do it all.

How much extra cash will you need?

With some packages, the sky's the limit, because there are so many hidden costs. Make sure the package you want clearly defines what is included, like meals and transfers. If it doesn't, scrap it and find one that does. Also, try to pre-pay as much as you can, at guaranteed prices, so there are no surprises when you arrive. This will limit the cash you need to personal expenses and gas, if you're traveling by car. If you're looking for a trip that spells it all out and is reasonably-priced, check The Swiss Travel Invention, The Austrian Travel Invention and The Complete Summer Vacation.

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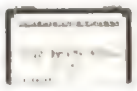

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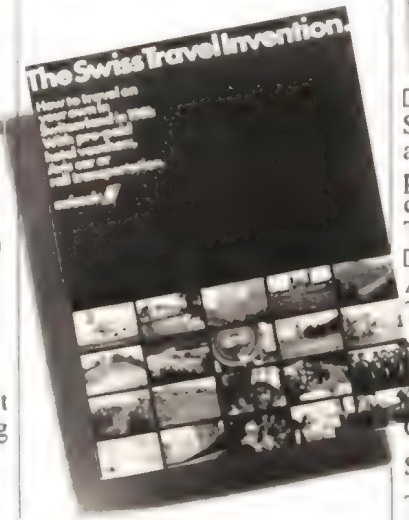

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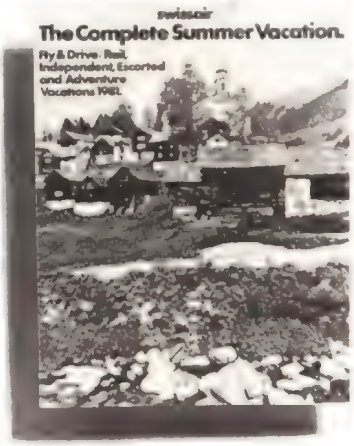

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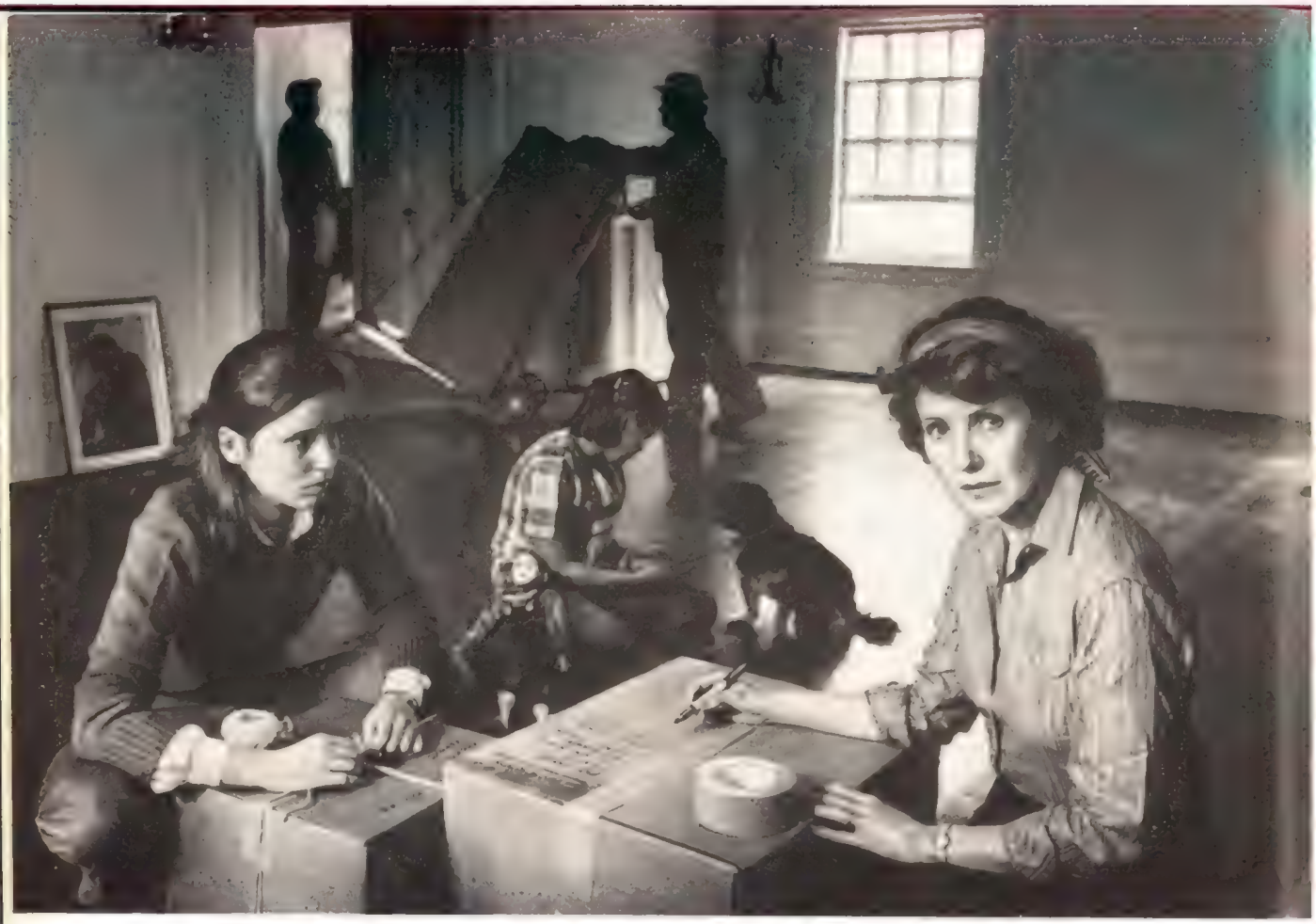

"Jim left me a beautiful home, stocks, and some things I never expected. Like taxes."

"Jim and I were lucky. Because we could usually afford to get what we wanted out of life.

"Not just a home, but a nice home in a good community. Not just school for the kids, but the right private schools.

"Then Jim died. And suddenly, because of estate taxes, funeral costs and some debts I never knew existed, I was forced to take a long, hard look at our family's lifestyle.

"Sure, we'll manage in a smaller house. But the point is, for us, it's no longer a question of getting what we want out of life. It's a question of deciding which things to give up."

Without the proper financial planning, the costs associated with dying can leave a family with less than they need to maintain their standard of living.

For instance, it's a surprising fact that Federal estate taxes alone, for anyone with a taxable estate, begin at an incredible 32% and can go much higher.

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Letters

who wait until the last minute to file cannot reduce the chance of an audit—they can only delay any refund they may have coming to them.

A. James Golato
Assistant to the Commissioner
Internal Revenue Service
Washington, D.C.

Generation Gap

I must take issue with the letter by Leonard Artigliere [April 27], who refers to the '60s generation as "heroic hypocrites." Our commitment to our "cause" was demonstrated by the sacrifices and odium we accepted in order to accomplish it.

As to the charge that we gave up our cause and vanished into nothingness, I must point out that the Viet Nam War was ended and Nixon was displaced. We made it possible for self-satisfied people like Artigliere to pursue their own interests by helping to solve the problems of our time.

Micheal Hutchison
Muscatine, Iowa

Dallas Works

Those were nice words about Dallas [April 27], but less praise should be given to the city manager for the efficient public facilities and more to the agreeable taxpayers. My property taxes have increased 1100% in ten years. Any administrator should provide decent services with that kind of revenue.

Pat Randolph
Dallas

Answer to Abortion

Some of your letters opposing abortion [April 27] support the persistent myth that only women are morally responsible for pregnancy. Too many men still consider sterilization or the use of birth control on their part a threat to their masculinity. When every man accepts his share of responsibility for parenthood, there will be almost no need for abortion.

Margery H. Peck
Las Cruces, N. Mex.

We have adopted more children than we could easily care for financially or emotionally. Yet we continue to survive. We are grateful every day to the mothers of the eight of our eleven children who were adopted instead of aborted, even though none is a cute, cuddly infant. In fact, they are racially mixed, Asian, emotionally disturbed, physically handicapped, learning disabled and "too old"—but a total joy.

Henry and Ann Steffens
Clearwater, Fla.

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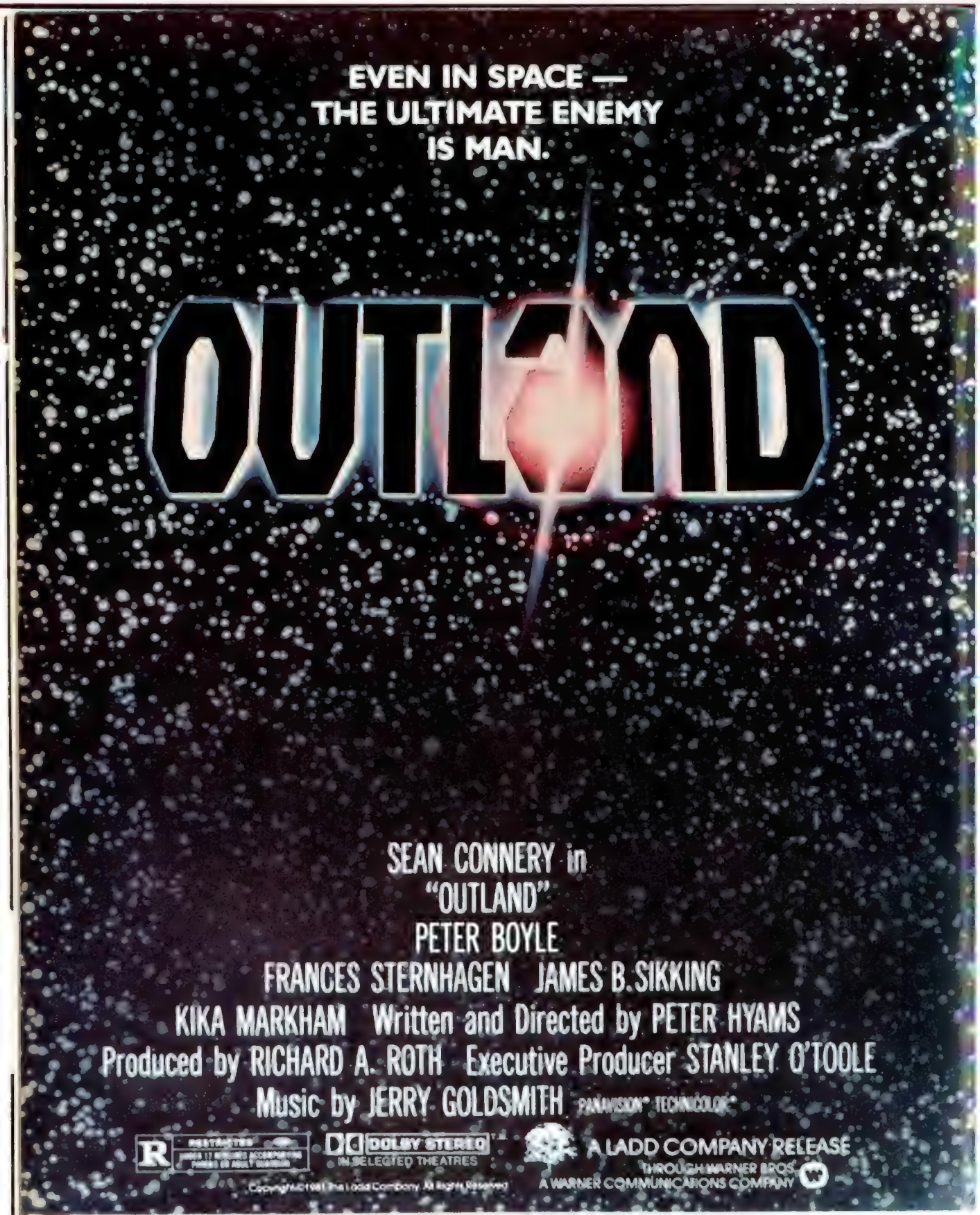

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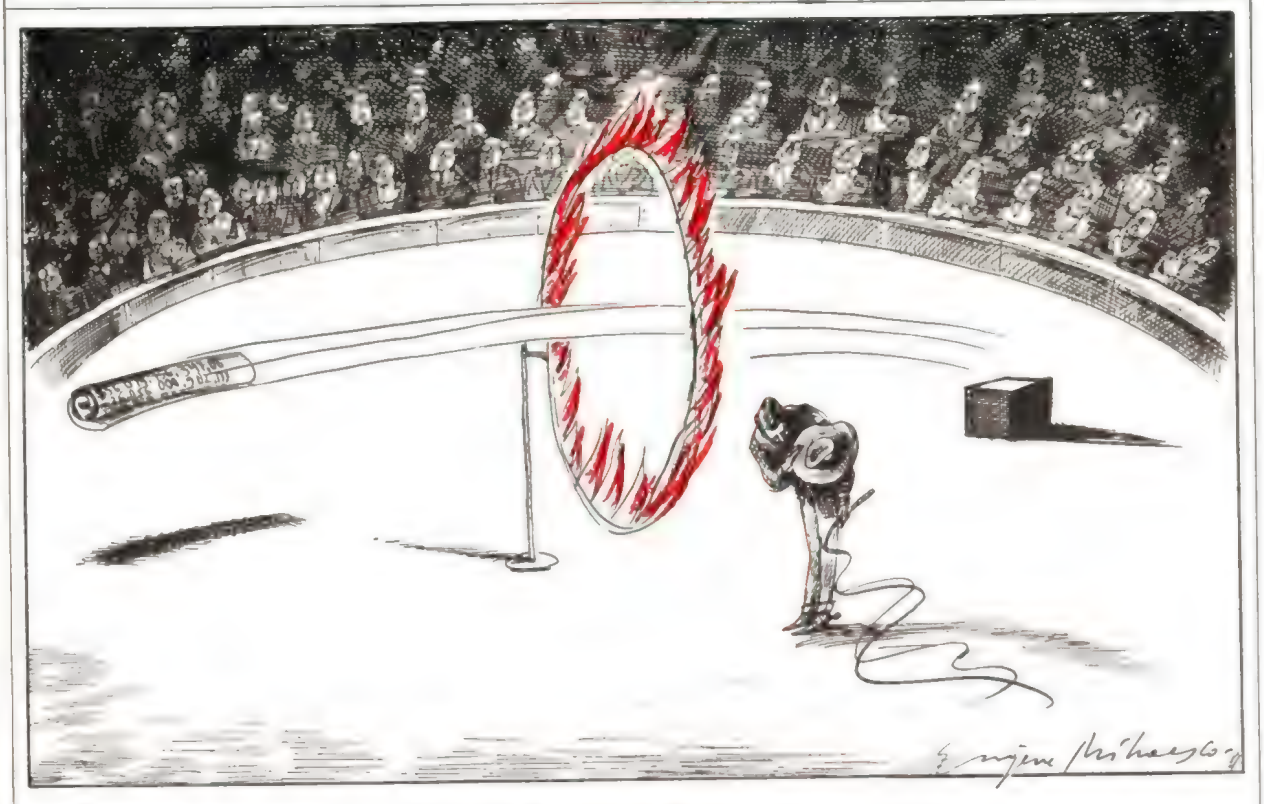

TIME/MAY 18, 1981

Reagan's Big Win

The President's prestige soars with a triumphant budget vote

Ronald Reagan's velvet steamroller smashed through the Democratic House of Representatives last week, flattening opposition to his radical plan to curtail federal spending. As a result, his even more controversial tax-cut proposals stand a good chance of gaining final congressional approval this summer. The President's victory in the House budget fight was decisive: not a single Republican deserted his party, while 63 Democrats abandoned theirs. That gave Reagan a 77-vote margin in the 253-176 roll call, on which a Reagan-endorsed budget proposal replaced a more moderate cutback recommended by the House Budget Committee.

It was the President's first significant political triumph since he took office, and it stemmed largely from the emotional groundswell of admiration generated by his cool and courageous conduct after the assassination attempt. Reagan, however, cited grass-roots pressure from the voters as the key to his success. Said he: "For years the American people have been asking that the Federal Government put its house in order. Today the people have been heard."

Implicit in the President's reaction to the budget vote was a threat to enlist that same kind of constituent pressure on lawmakers who fail to follow through on the rest of his economic package. Predicted Reagan: "When the people speak, Washington will now listen—and will act." Legislative strategists for the White House made little effort to conceal their optimistic belief that Reagan's popularity, coupled with his bold program, may even have forged a new coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats that will give the G.O.P. practical control of the House, despite the Democrats present 51-member majority. With Republicans firmly in control of the Senate, the new combination could accelerate a historic shift toward conservatism in the nation's capital.

To be sure, those sweeping expectations could fade as committees in both houses tackle the nitty-gritty details. In the past, intense lobbying by special interests has nibbled away at any cohesive economic planning. Beyond that, there is some question as to whether the President had won on the budget largely through his own effective lobbying and prestige, or whether the Democrats, particularly House Speaker Tip O'Neill, had fumbled away all chances for a much closer vote. Indeed, while the margin of victory was psychologically and politically devastating for the Democrats, it was partly illusory. If the last-minute head counts had been closer, an unspecified number of restive Democrats had pledged to stay with their party. When they realized that their votes actually would make no real difference, they jumped to Reagan's side.

The President had courted the Democrats shrewdly. He invited 60 Democratic Congressmen to the White House in groups of five to eight, applied his genial soft sell for up to an hour, then gave each Representative a little blue box bearing his signature on the outside and a pair of

Illustration for TIME by Eugene Mihaesco

presidential cuff links on the inside. The cuff links, which cost about $4.40 a pair, were bought by the Republican National Committee. Many of the legislators emerged from the Oval Office wearing big smiles. Presidential aides also applied pressure through influential constituents in the home districts of wavering Democrats.

On Capitol Hill, Speaker O'Neill described Reagan's salesmanship extravagantly: "There is no question that this is the greatest lobbying in the history of the country." O'Neill was blowing smoke, trying to obscure his own failure to hold his party together. Ten days before the vote, the old pro had blundered by predicting a Democratic defeat: "I know when to fight and when not to fight." That admission undermined House Budget Committee Chairman James Jones, who had put together a package designed to please conservative Democrats as well as appeal to moderate Republicans. It protected some social programs supported by urban Republicans as well as by most Democrats, and called for smaller tax cuts and a smaller budget deficit than Reagan's own proposal—features long advocated by conservatives in both parties. At the time, Jones figured that he had a good chance to win about eleven Republicans to his package and hold the Democratic defectors to 35. That, by Jones' reckoning, would have produced a Democratic victory by as many as five votes.

O'Neill tried to recover lost stature within his party by rounding up Democratic votes for Jones' budget resolution. But he undercut those efforts by continuing to predict that the Democratic fight was hopeless. A party leader traditionally makes rosy forecasts of a close battle even when he knows the outlook is bleak. O'Neill, however, made another public admission on the eve of the vote. "There's a feeling among the American people to give the President what he's asked for," he said. "Only the Lord himself could save this one." Dismayed at the Speaker's gloom, Wisconsin's liberal Democrat David Obey quipped: "I think I'll take my harmonica and play *Our Only Friend Is Jesus*."

The outnumbered Democrats in the Senate realistically had no hope of blocking Reagan's budget there. But Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd further undercut his party's position in the House by announcing that even he planned to vote for the Reagan package. One Democratic leader in the House soon began getting calls from Republicans who had considered voting for the Jones bill. "We can't be hanging out there if your people are throwing in the towel," one of the Republicans complained. On the day before last week's vote, only one Republican, James Jeffords of Vermont, still leaned toward the Jones proposal.

Debate on the budget proposals opened in the House with Democrat Obey trying a classic parliamentary ploy. He offered a relatively liberal substitute to the Jones budget that would have kept most social programs intact. Obey's purpose was to give moderate Republicans and Democrats from conservative districts a proposal to vote against—after which they could in good conscience vote for the far tougher Jones budget. But Republican Jeffords ruined the maneuver. He announced that he liked the Obey package and would vote for it. Knowing that it would fail, he would then vote for the Reagan-endorsed substitute, a "bipartisan" proposal sponsored by Republican Delbert Latta of Ohio and conservative Democrat Phil Gramm of Texas.

Obey's proposal was crushed, 303-119. The next step was the vote to replace the Jones resolution with the Gramm-Latta substitute. Shortly before the roll call, O'Neill admitted that the outcome was clear. "I'm not trying to change any votes out there," he said with a shrug. As for the Republicans his party needed for any chance to win, O'Neill observed: "They're kind of running for the woods."

Latta and Gramm get President's encouragement shortly before House roll call

Protesters picket against fund cuts

"Closing the door on America."

During the debate on Gramm-Latta, Republican Robert Michel of Illinois, the minority leader, argued that Reagan's budget was "a small step for Congress but a giant leap for the country." He placed it in a long-term perspective, declaring: "Let history show that we provided the margin of difference that changed the course of American government." O'Neill roused himself to deliver a stirring, if melancholy, defense of the social action programs he had helped shape during 28 years in Congress. "Do you want to meat-ax the programs that have made America great?" he asked. "You close the door on America in the Latta bill." Referring to Reagan's claim that his budget provided a "safety net" for the needy, O'Neill scoffed: "A safety net? It is a trap, not a safety net."

As O'Neill well knew, his plea was much too late: the roll call, when it finally came, contained no suspense. The Senate is expected to pass a similar Reagan budget this week with even greater ease. Responding to the new frugal mood, the Senate last week reversed an earlier vote and approved a $7.9 billion reduction in cost of living increases for retired federal employees and Social Security recipients in fiscal 1982. After the two budgets have been passed, minor differences between the resolutions will have to be resolved in a conference committee. And then, unless the whole budget process later goes off its planned track, a radical reversal of federal economic policy will be enacted into law.

As passed by the House, the Gramm-Latta budget slashes $50.5 billion from the $739.3 billion that the Carter Administration had proposed spending in fiscal 1982. The cuts include some $8.8 billion

Stenholm, seated, conferring with Conservative Democratic Forum members

The South Rises Again in Congress

When asked before last week's budget vote whether the Democrats, who control the House, could hold together, Speaker Tip O'Neill replied sadly that in most other countries they would be splintered ideologically into five parties. If anything, he was understating the disorganization of the 97th Congress, which is riven into blocs representing regional, ethnic and economic as well as philosophical interests: there is a northeastern caucus, a black caucus, a steel caucus, even a mushroom caucus, dedicated to defending mushroom-growing constituents against foreign competition. In all this factionalism, one group of conservative Democrats has acquired so much clout that it did more than any other bloc to ensure Ronald Reagan his big win on the Gramm-Latta resolution. These Congressmen, banded together in the Conservative Democratic Forum, are electoral descendants of the Dixie Democrats who ran Congress through the 1950s; the overwhelming majority of the 47 C.D.F. members are from the Old South.* But they resemble the Southern barons of yore in no other way.

The C.D.F. members are mostly junior (average service: 3½ terms). They do not hold a single major committee chairmanship, and they represent not "safe" one-party constituencies but seats that have been menaced by the rise of Southern Republicanism. The prominence of the forum members is a kind of electoral accident: the November election left just enough conservative Southern Democrats in the House to hold the balance of power on any issue that unites all Republicans against moderate-to-liberal Democrats.

Sensing their pivotal position, the Southerners formed the C.D.F. the week after election and demanded seats on major committees from a party leadership that, they felt, had been ignoring them. O'Neill, who knew that Republicans had been seeking conservative Democratic votes against his re-election as Speaker, hastily complied. In the budget fight, the resolution that won Reagan's backing was written primarily by C.D.F. Member Phil Gramm, a former economics professor from Texas; seeking their support for the measure, the President wooed the conservative Democrats harder than he did any other bloc. In the end, C.D.F. members cast 38 of the 63 Democratic votes for Gramm-Latta.

How the conservatives will vote in future showdowns is unknown. Their top priorities are a strong defense and a balanced budget. But they make no attempt to work out a unified position, and their organization is the loosest on Capitol Hill: the forum has no chairman, no staff, no offices, not even any set schedule for meeting. When a member wants a meeting, he notifies Charles Stenholm, a cotton farmer from Texas who has been designated "coordinator." At the meetings, members simply talk and break up without taking any nose counts.

Their independence makes the conservative Democrats a problem to leaders of both parties. Republicans are trying to forge alliances with them while simultaneously threatening an all-out effort to bag many of their seats in 1982. As for Democratic leaders, they have been put on notice that the price of C.D.F. support is a much more conservative stance. Says Stenholm: "We need to change the direction of our party, or we will soon be a minority in the House."

*With a sprinkling from Maryland and Sunbelt states such as Oklahoma and Arizona, plus one Northerner, Samuel Stratton of upstate New York.

in education funds, $13.8 billion in various welfare programs, $7.7 billion in energy projects and $1.8 billion in transportation supports. It raises military outlays by $4.4 billion (to $188.8 billion, or 27.4% of the budget). Gramm-Latta includes a three-year individual income tax cut program that would cost the Government $51.3 billion in lost revenue in fiscal 1982. The overall result would be a 1982 deficit projected at $31 billion (this year's deficit is now estimated at $54.9 billion).

Reagan's big win gives him a strong chance to prevail in the two major uncertainties still facing his economic package: 1) Will Congress stay within the dollar limits of the budget resolution it is now adopting? 2) Will it give the President the kind of tax program on which the budget is based? The first question should theoretically be answered in the President's favor through the "reconciliation" process. Under this, the budget committees in each house are empowered to insert cuts into any committee bill that exceeds the spending limits set out in the budget resolution and include them in a final spending package for floor approval.

The tax uncertainties are greater. The official White House stance has long been that it will not compromise on the so-called Kemp-Roth plan: a three-year, 10%-a-year cut in individual income tax rates; some retreat, however, had seemed almost inevitable. Now, the size of Reagan's budget win has given the President and his advisers even more reason to hold firm in the real hope of getting just what they want. In all likelihood, any initiative toward a compromise will have to come from the demoralized Democrats. Asked about that, a smiling Reagan told one Democrat last week: "We're here and willing to listen." One small modification being talked about on Capitol Hill was to seek Reagan's agreement on reducing the 10%-a-year cut to 8%. In return, the Democrats may be willing to slash the marginal tax rate on unearned income (interest and dividends) from its current 70% to 50%, a move that would spur savings and investment far more than would Kemp-Roth alone.

"There will be tougher votes down the road," predicted Republican Michel as he argued for Reagan's budget. Indeed there may be, as final program cuts and tax proposals are decided. But, noted a happy White House strategist about the sentiment in Congress: "It's still moving our way." After last week's historic vote, that was an understatement. *—By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Neil MacNeil/Washington*

Congressional links

Tip O'Neill on the Ropes

The failed strategy of an out-of-touch leader

Tip O'Neill is a good friend of mine. He garnered a reputation as one of the strongest Speakers in our history. But now, I regret to say, Tip is reeling on the ropes . . . he's in a fog . . . he's not part of what is happening, and has no idea of where to go.

—Wisconsin Democrat Les Aspin, in a letter last month to constituents

Great old politicians, like great old prizefighters, are usually too proud to quit. Somehow they just cannot let go, and neither can their loyalists.

In his long, charmed career, House Speaker Thomas Patrick (Tip) O'Neill, 68, has rarely been shoved around. A superb political technician, a man trusted even by House members who do not think his way, he drove the impeachment Congress as majority leader during Watergate. For the past eight of his 28 years in Congress, he has been the Democrat to deal with. But today many of the Speaker's good friends agree with Les Aspin that Tip is on the ropes. Despite a moving personal plea by O'Neill from the well of the House last week, 63 members of his party bolted ranks to vote for the Reagan-approved Gramm-Latta budget resolution. At that moment, it was clear that the nation's most powerful Democrat had been badly, perhaps even fatally, wounded.

It has been tough enough the past few years for the Speaker to stay out in front of his rebellious Democrats. The party's ideological compass had begun to spin too wildly for an incorrigible New Dealer like O'Neill. Once Ronald Reagan hit town, the Speaker's troubles got a lot worse. Conservative Democrats viewed O'Neill as a big spender who was out of step with the new frugal mood. Liberals sniped openly that he had no heart left for the fight against the President.

As the reality of Reagan's deep budget cuts began to hit home, the party's young bulls clamored for O'Neill to lead a counterattack. But the Speaker had decided months ago on a different strategy. It would be ruinous, he figured, for Democrats to attack so popular a President. Instead, he would give Reagan all he wanted, sit back and watch the President fail. It was a precarious, cynical approach, and O'Neill would never admit publicly that his objective was, in effect, to lose now and win later by default. So devoted was O'Neill to his own plan that he impulsively predicted a week before the budget vote that the fight was already lost. His colleagues, unaware of what their leader was up to, were more than ever convinced by that cave-in that Tip was out of touch.

The negative game plan was out of character for O'Neill, whose style has always been more positive. When the President first began courting conservative Democrats by inviting 40 of them to breakfast, O'Neill was stung. The problem of how to deal with the disarming Reagan puzzled and gnawed at him. "I've never been up against a Republican like him," he told friends, pointing out that Dwight Eisenhower was also popular, but not as skillfully partisan as Reagan.

RODDEY E. MIMS

A sense of defeat: the House Speaker in his Capitol Hill office

Too proud to quit, great old politicians just can't let go.

It was not that O'Neill had developed any confidence in Reagan as President —or as a thinker. To the contrary, the Speaker returned from White House meetings and told aides that he was astonished at the empty conversations. Reagan was a nice guy all right, related Tip, but not one for heavy business. When O'Neill raised certain issues, he reported, the President would invariably deflect them to an aide and resume his easy storytelling. Never, declared the disbelieving Speaker, had he seen a President work in such a detached way.

After Reagan's program triumphed last week, O'Neill tried to hold his ground. He sat in the Speaker's vast office, his huge 260-lb. torso looking like a giant plum pudding, his long white hair falling over his blue eyes. As a television screen in the far corner of the room carried speeches from the House floor, he talked about the rising criticism of his leadership. "It hurts," he said, putting his sinewy hands on his knees. "It hurts a lot." Then he leaned forward in his chair, his massive head thrust out. "Wait till Middle America realizes what's happened with these budget cuts," he said. His deep voice filled the room. "Am I going to get some Republican scalps down the road? You bet I am."

O'Neill is beginning to show an uncharacteristic passivity, as if events are already intimidating him. Last week a political friend called and asked if Tip would grease the way with one of his committee chairmen. In the good old days, the Speaker would have arranged the favor with ease. But O'Neill demurred; he did not want to risk pressing his chairmen too far. Fund raisers for the party seek him out less often; they say they need a more compelling voice to attract new money. O'Neill has other, more private problems. He suffers from a painful prostate condition, and even though his doctors have told him he needs an operation, he refuses to undergo one. Tip is terrified of surgery. Instead, he takes medication constantly, despite the fact that the doctors have warned him to cut back. A couple of months ago, he was in such pain that he had to be rushed by helicopter to the Bethesda Naval Hospital for emergency relief.

The Speaker is fighting to stay in place for another reason, this one deeply familial, as Irish as his roots. His son Tommy is running for Governor of Massachusetts, and Tip is determined to see him in the job. He rushes to every fund raiser for his boy, presses his friends to kick in. "Helping the son is the most important thing in his life," says a close friend. O'Neill wants to stay on the ballot in Massachusetts in 1982 to boost his son's candidacy.

When the Speaker moved back into the House chamber last week for his final plea against Reagan's budget, he passed up his high podium chair for an empty seat on the floor. As he chatted with colleagues who stopped by, O'Neill kept an ear on speakers at the podium. When one of them declared that Reagan's economic program was a disaster for the country, O'Neill clapped his hands quietly. At one point, there was too much noise in the chamber; the Speaker rose and commanded silence. For a moment, he still appeared big and powerful, the man in charge. It was obvious that he still had an emotional hold on the House. But the hold is loosening now, and it looks very much as if the job Tip O'Neill has worked a lifetime for is offering challenges he cannot meet.

—By Robert Ajemian

Haig confers with British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington at NATO meeting in Rome

Triumph of a Team Player

Haig and the White House are now in accord, but will it last?

A new spirit of détente blossomed last week, not between the U.S. and the Soviet Union but between the White House and Secretary of State Alexander Haig. "He comes home in triumph," President Reagan told reporters, as Haig returned from a NATO foreign ministers' meeting that had endorsed the American hard line blaming Soviet militarism for the breakdown of East-West relations. After two months of squabbling between Haig and the President's top aides, the Secretary had stopped trying to assert his prerogatives and had started pledging to be a team player. Reagan's enthusiastic welcome home, accompanied by a pointedly symbolic "photo opportunity" of the two men posing, was the clearest signal yet that Haig's new-found deference has probably saved his job.

Reagan called the NATO council "a most successful meeting in a situation that could have been critical for us in regard to our allies." If indeed the European endorsement holds, it was a genuine achievement; it took hard bargaining by Haig in both Washington and Rome. Haig wanted NATO to offer the Soviets both a carrot and a stick—an American pledge to reopen arms control talks, accompanied by a unified Alliance get-tough policy made credible by defense spending. The day before he left Washington, Haig won Reagan's agreement, despite resistance from some hard-liners. Soon after he arrived in Rome he met with the key advocate of renewed arms control, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and displayed a five-page handwritten letter from Reagan to Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev. In it Reagan communicated his horror of war, his hopes for peace and his willingness this year to move a step toward resuming SALT by negotiating controls of European continental-range missiles. Haig later mentioned the letter to other foreign ministers, with evident effect.

The Secretary also advocated a policy of "linkage" involving all East-West relations, urged common policy outside the NATO area (for example, in the Persian Gulf), and emphasized the Administration's two selling points with the Third World: ties with the Soviets bring too close an embrace, alliance with the West can produce economic improvement.

Although the Dutch pushed for immediate arms talks and the Scandinavian nations wanted more positive mentions of détente, ultimately all accepted a toughly worded document attacking the Soviets for arms buildup and aggression. Haig agreed to a partial endorsement of détente, a policy still popular in most of Europe. The communiqué describes it as a NATO goal "whenever Soviet behavior makes this possible." The allies in turn agreed to defense spending at "necessary" but unspecified levels and reaffirmed U.S. plans to install 572 new land-based cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe while bargaining with Moscow is under way.

Haig, NATO Commander in Chief from 1974 to 1979, seemed much more confident than he was on his swing through the Middle East last month. He was on familiar ground. And his job was more secure. He was back to seeing Reagan about three times a week and often talking to him by telephone several times a day. The NATO ministers were apparently reassured by Haig's own confidence. They see him as an accessible pragmatist among Reagan's cold warriors.

NSC Chief Allen

After the NATO meeting ended, the Administration took the initiative on two other foreign policy fronts, both involving the Reagan-Haig principle of rewarding friendly governments, whatever their human rights policies, and of punishing hostile, leftist ones. The Administration is planning to reinstall an ambassador and offer new military aid to Guatemala, whose repressive military regime was recently accused by Amnesty International of complicity in 3,000 political murders since 1979. The State Department announced that it was closing Libya's embassy in Washington and expelling its diplomatic personnel because of well-substantiated charges that Libyan Strongman Muammar Gaddafi was actively promoting international terrorism.

White House officials were taking considerable satisfaction from last week's smooth progress in Rome. "If we could just do it like this all the time," sighed one top presidential aide. Gone for the moment, although not entirely forgotten, were Haig's early tactical errors: trying to get Reagan to give him total control of foreign policy; threatening, all but publicly, to resign over the selection of Vice President George Bush as chief of crisis management; announcing, in a trembling, unsteady voice on the day President Reagan was shot, that he was "in control" at the White House.

Haig seems to have set aside his struggles for turf, for example, with Agriculture Secretary John Block over the grain embargo against the Soviet Union, and with Special Trade Representative Bill Brock over Japanese auto imports. In recent weeks he actively lobbied the White House for a fresh start. Peace apparently has been made.

But consistency and collaboration in an Administration are prerequisites, not a policy. On most issues, the Administration has not yet moved beyond a set of attitudes to specific, thought-out positions. Says one senior U.S. diplomat who is also a Reagan supporter: "The Administration's global view is clear. The concepts have been defined. But the regional objectives and policies have not received enough attention. Some of us doubt whether the system that has been set up can work. It has done poorly so far even though there has not been a real crisis yet."

Part of the problem is that even the newly chastened Haig still has not turned his full attention to making policy. Moreover, for most of his career he has been a tireless executor of policy rather than a creator, and he still appears to prefer working twelve-hour days to delegating authority.

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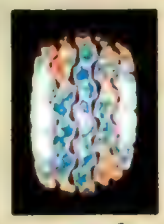

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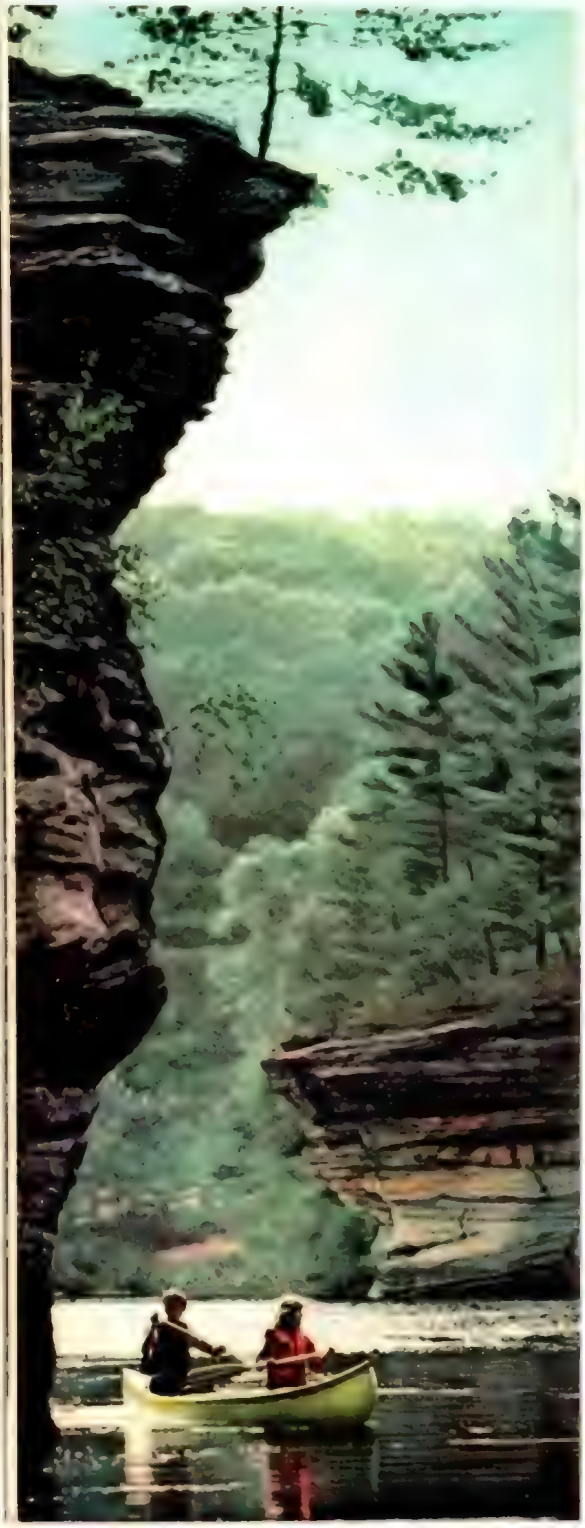
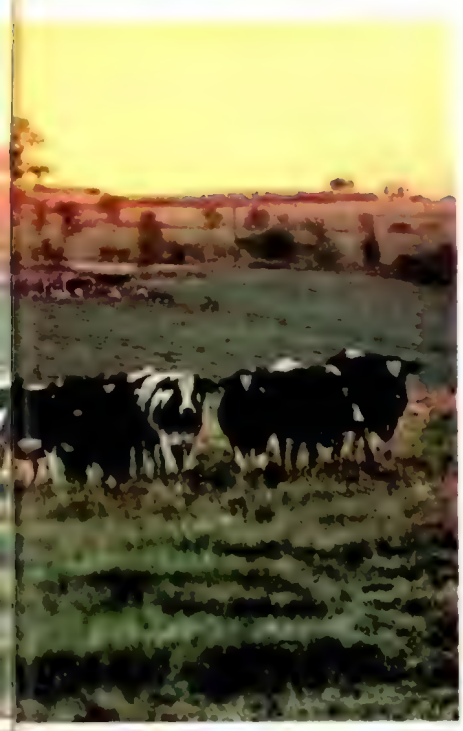


want it all.



In its winding course to the Mississippi, the Wisconsin River powers enough plants, factories and mills to make it, easily, "the hardest working river in the nation."

And through that same course, especially through that canoeist paradise, the Wisconsin Dells, it is, with equal ease, one of the world's most beautiful.

Like their river, Wisconsinites see no contradiction between hard work and natural beauty. At the University of Wisconsin at Madison, their students are expected to work hard—and also to enjoy one of the loveliest campuses in the country. Their fertile farmlands, dotted with silver-topped silos, are an ode to rural beauty—and productive enough to make them the nation's leading producer of milk, butter and cheese. Their factories turn out everything from sophisticated machinery to the superbly-crafted paper for one of our famous brands of cigarettes—and work just as hard at preserving the environment. The river water, for instance, that enters our Wisconsin Tissue Mills leaves our plant cleaner than it entered.

Wisconsinites, in short, want it all. And having gotten it, they love to celebrate it. Fairs and festivals celebrate their ethnic diversity (from American Indian through Swiss, German, Polish, Norwegian, Dutch, Italian and a dozen others), their natural bounty (corn and cranberries, milk and apples), and everything else that appeals to them from fishing for the wily musky to log-rolling competitions.

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Yet Haig's failings are less serious than chronic shortcomings at the White House. In an effort to keep the National Security Council from becoming an alternative State Department, a role it took on in the Carter and Nixon Administrations, the White House has denied National Security Adviser Richard Allen an adequately trained and able staff for his stripped-down duties of coordinating policy and briefing the President.

Partly because of White House disorganization and Haig's early grab for power, Allen has not demonstrated much authority in his job. He failed to persuade presidential aides that the proposed sale of the sophisticated AWACS airborne radar system to Saudi Arabia faced probable defeat in Congress. As a result, Reagan okayed the deal over Haig's objections.

For all that, Haig is known to believe that the press has unfairly concentrated on his, and the Administration's, troubles, and paid too little attention to foreign policy successes. Relations with the European allies, bumpy at best during the Carter years, are much improved. The Secretary believes that disagreements with Japan and China are being smoothed over. Thanks to U.S. military and economic assistance, he is overly eager to assert, leftists have been thwarted in El Salvador and the junta headed by José Napoleón Duarte appears stronger. Haig, and indeed White House aides, claim that they deserve more credit for the unglamorous but essential jobs of improving relations with Canada, Mexico and especially Jamaica, whose new moderate government is supposed to serve as a model of economic development for the restive Caribbean.

Haig is sensitive to the appearance of zigzag confusion in irreconcilable statements put out by various Administration spokesmen on such issues as a trade embargo if the Soviets invade Poland or potential U.S. construction of the neutron bomb. He is pushing hard for consistency. One major concern at the NATO meeting was what Weinberger—regarded by Europeans as a loose cannon—would do and say at a gathering this week of the Atlantic Alliance's defense ministers. Said one aide: "Haig wants Weinberger to sing from the same sheet music."

In the Middle East, Haig hopes to establish, he says, a "strategic consensus" among states from Pakistan to the Persian Gulf that can be persuaded to set aside antagonisms toward the U.S. and each other because they fear Soviet aggression. He foresees breakthroughs in Jordan and long-hostile Iraq, but so far there is little evidence of movement. In short the major "accomplishment" of Reagan-Haig foreign policy to date is the start of a strategic consensus from Foggy Bottom to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. *—By William A. Henry III. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington*

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Knowledge Is Power

Not in a long while has so much knowledge led to so much power as it has with David Stockman, head of the Office of Management and Budget. The man with the mod-cut mop of hair, engaging smile and soft voice may be the greatest human repository of information on the U.S. Government now in Washington.

Stockman was lucky: he was in the right place and in the right party at the right time. But he had no special friendships or political connections to vault him to his prominence. He simply knew more than anyone else about how to go about dismantling the federal monster. He calls this resource "My knowledge base," and it comes from a decade of awesome study and work. Stockman, using his experience at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government as a gauge, believes that he has accumulated the equivalent of four or five Ph.D.s. Others would judge the figure higher.

Stockman went to Washington in 1970 as an aide to John Anderson, then an Illinois Congressman. He later became director of the Republican Conference in the House, and in 1976 he was himself elected to Congress from Michigan. Over ten years, with the help of a handful of aides, he analyzed every significant governmental issue. The Stockman summaries became a crucial part of G.O.P. strategy. Each committee report—some running to hundreds of pages—was read and boiled down to a few sheets. "We worked a lot of nights into the wee hours," says Stockman with a wan smile. Nor was that flood of hundreds of congressional initiatives his only fare. When Nixon proposed chopping 112 federal programs in 1973, Stockman and his loyal band delved into each one.

RODDEY E. MIMS

OMB Director David Stockman

Strange things showed up. Subcommittees dominated by special interests issued lopsided reports that hid their prejudices behind clouds of turgid prose. They were, concluded Stockman, designed to discourage understanding. The cargo preference bill report in 1974 was a panegyric to the glories of forcing more oil imports into American ships. The inflationary impact from the higher rates was largely an untold story. Stockman unraveled it and alerted the Republicans. Though the bill passed, President Ford killed it with a pocket veto.

Sometimes even Stockman could not get through the fog. He grappled one night until 4 a.m. with a bill affecting the federal employee retirement system and gave up. He could not understand it, and he doubts that the people who prepared it could either. It is Stockman's view that the Social Security program is now technically so dense that no one in the Government comprehends it totally. The information crisis is most acute on the Hill, where, in Stockman's view, "there is not much reward for accumulating knowledge." The more pressing concern is political survival. Also, the turnover in Congressmen and their staff experts makes it difficult for the House to sustain an institutional understanding of programs that go through generations and keep enlarging each year. "The big Government problem is the information overload at the center," says Stockman. There is just too much for most members of Congress to absorb in too short a time.

Stockman says that he does not possess a photographic memory, but when he was named Director of OMB, he read the entire 613-page federal budget line by line and table by table. A picture of related programs, money and goals formed in his mind. And from that guide came the proposed budget cuts that stunned Washington. He is a home-trained speed reader and may get up to 1,000 words a minute, but part of the swiftness comes from his mind's having traveled there before.

Stockman was fascinated with the intellectual challenge of understanding the anatomy of the Government. Unmarried (as he still is), he could expend the prodigious time and energy that this advanced education required. The reward for the President, and perhaps the worry for the nation, is that Stockman truly may be the only person with such an arsenal of knowledge.

Family from Bangladesh in front of their restaurant on New York City's Lower East Side

Hoping to be hired for a day's work, four Mexicans

Nation

Closing the Golden Door

As the immigrant tide rises, so does the search for ways to stem it

In Chicago, school officials are scrambling to find teachers fluent in Hmong to deal with the children of some 2,500 Hmong tribesmen who settled there after fleeing the mountains of northern Laos. In Los Angeles an estimated two-thirds of the city's roofers are illegal aliens. In New York City, the population of refugees from El Salvador has swollen from 2,000 to 20,000 in less than three months, and the numbers are still growing.

Invited and uninvited, rich and poor —but mostly poor—foreigners are pouring into the U.S. in greater numbers than at any time since the last great surge of European immigrants in the early 1900s. Indeed, the U.S. today accepts twice as many foreigners as the rest of the world's nations combined. Thanks in large part to the flood of Cuban and Haitian refugees last year, more than 800,000 newcomers were allowed into the country legally in 1980, up from only 526,000 in 1979. In addition an estimated 500,000 to 1 million entered illegally. Although their turn-of-the-century predecessors were mainly Europeans, today's new arrivals are mostly from Latin America and, to a lesser extent, Asia and the Caribbean. They are transforming the U.S. urban landscape into something that it has not been for decades: a mosaic of exotic languages, faces, costumes, customs, restaurants and religions.

They have also touched off growing concern in Congress and elsewhere that the U.S.—the land beyond the Golden Door, the nation whose Statue of Liberty has beckoned generations of "huddled masses yearning to breathe free"—can no longer afford such generosity. Those huddled masses, it is feared, are robbing native Americans of jobs, straining community services and provoking new excesses of bigotry and xenophobia across the U.S. In Texas, for instance, Vietnamese refugees operating shrimp boats in Galveston Bay have stirred resentment among local fishermen and received threats from the Ku Klux Klan. Three of the refugees' boats have caught fire; though arson is suspected, no arrests have been made yet.

While nearly all Americans would —and should—abhor such actions, many are concerned that the nation is being overrun with foreigners. The teeming boatloads of Cuban and Haitian refugees who landed on Florida's shores last year only heightened those concerns. Democratic Senator Walter Huddleston of Kentucky estimates that, if present trends continue, immigration will add at least 35 million people to the current U.S. population of 229 million by the year 2000. "Those 35 million people will need land, water, energy and food," complains Huddleston. "Where are we going to find those resources, unless we ask our citizens to sacrifice more?"

Haitians on the job in Chicago

A fierce political debate is now being waged on just how the untidy thicket of laws governing the nation's immigration policies should be reshaped and pruned. The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Policy, chaired by Republican Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming, and the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law, headed by Democratic Representative Romano L. Mazzoli of Kentucky, opened joint hearings last week on reforming those laws. Says Simpson: "Our policies have made us the laughter of the world. Immigration is a game of numbers, and somewhere along the line we are going to have to deal with those numbers, or else we will be overwhelmed." Indeed, hardly anyone disagrees that the laws are obsolete, arbitrary and unenforceable, and that reforming them is one of the most pressing tasks to face the Reagan Administration. Yet there is far less agreement on the specifics: What precisely is the impact of these immigrants on American life? Should the flow of newcomers be diminished? If so, how?

In 1978 Congress set up the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, a 16-member panel led by the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame, to review the current laws and to recommend

wait on a street corner in Houston

Illegal aliens crossing the Rio Grande into the U.S. near El Paso

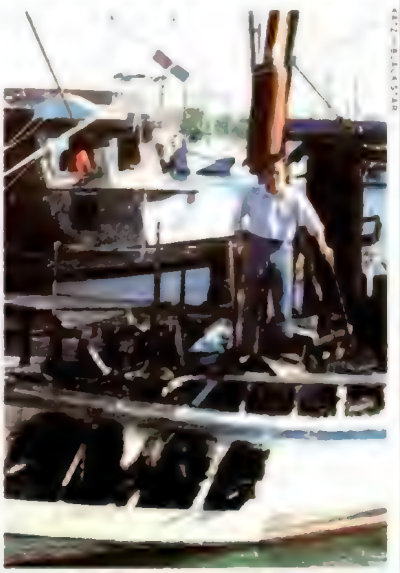
changes. In its report, delivered last March, the commission recommended raising the number of legal immigrants and refugees admitted to the U.S. and granting amnesty to most illegal aliens already here. Yet the panel also advised imposing sanctions against employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens, and adopting a reliable means of identifying persons eligible to work in the U.S. A Reagan Administration task force headed by Attorney General William French Smith is expected to present its own recommendations to the President later this month.

The topic is of great concern to many Americans. A Roper poll last year found that 80% of those interviewed want the number of immigrants allowed into the country legally each year to be reduced. A Gallup poll showed that 76% would ban the hiring of illegal immigrants. "There is anger out there," contends Roger Conner, executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), a Washington-based group leading the battle for more restrictive policies. "There is fear. There is outright paranoia."

Yet others worry that Americans may be exaggerating the effect of immigration on the U.S.—and forgetting their historically generous nature. "This country was built on immigrants," says Juan Soliz, coordinator for the Midwest Coalition in Defense of Immigration. "Some are trying to create hysteria to gain sympathizers, to have someone to blame for unemployment, inflation and high prices." Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt cautions that many questions surrounding illegal aliens remain unanswered. "For example, do they take jobs from American workers or do they perform tasks benefiting the American economy?" he asks. "No one knows. There ought to be deeper understanding of these issues before we take radical steps to barricade the border."

Actually, the current laws post rather modest figures for legal migration: only 270,000 foreigners annually, with no more than 20,000 permitted from any one country. Family reunification provisos, however, allow U.S. citizens to bring in an unlimited number of immediate relatives —spouses, children and parents. The law also permits 50,000 political refugees a year to enter the U.S., and both Congress and the President are empowered to bend that limit. Thus, since the fall of Saigon in 1975, Congress has admitted 450,000 Indochinese. When the first of 125,000 Cubans and 12,000 Haitians began descending on Florida shores last year, President Jimmy Carter declared them "entrants," a legalism that entitled the newcomers to less financial aid than refugees—and allowed most of them to stay.

Of greatest concern to the restrictionists are those who enter the U.S. illegally, some 50% to 60% of whom come from Mexico. Most migrate to find a job, any job; at least 40% of the work force in Mexico is either unemployed or underemployed. Most of the illegal immigrants enter simply by crossing the Mexican border, either on their own or by paying up to $2,000 to a professional smuggler. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has only 2,100 agents stationed along the 2,000-mile border, and no more than 400 are on duty at any one time. Border patrol officials estimate that they manage to catch at best only one out of two illegal aliens who try to make it across. Once caught, an illegal alien can drag out deportation proceedings for months. Once deported, he can simply turn around and start the trip back to the U.S.

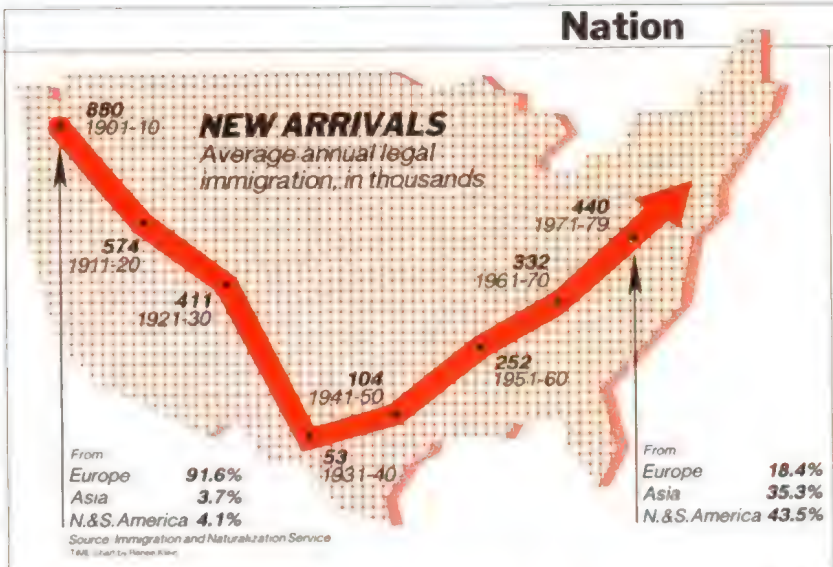


Burned-out Vietnamese boat in Texas

What exactly is the economic impact of illegal immigration? The AFL-CIO argues that every job taken by an illegal alien is a job lost by an American. Union officials blame not the aliens but their employers, who pay illegal workers less than Americans. Since most of the wages are in cash, employers also often avoid paying Social Security taxes and insurance

Labor leaders contend that illegal aliens not only rob Americans of jobs but also lower wages and degrade working conditions, especially for workers at the low end of the payroll. The biggest losers, according to Otis L. Graham, professor of history at the University of North Carolina, are those who traditionally made their living in the sort of unskilled jobs taken by aliens. Dismiss those illegal workers, insists Graham, and not only will blacks win back their jobs but wages and safety standards will rise too. Says Graham: "I see illegal immigration as preventing the economic phase of the civil rights movement."

Those who defend the hiring of illegal workers contend that most Americans reject the kinds of jobs—as farm workers, busboys, dishwashers, maids—filled by aliens. "Many of the jobs wouldn't get done at all if aliens didn't take them," says



Lloyd Hackler, president of the American Retail Federation. Some studies show that illegal Mexican workers, at least, do not work especially cheaply—and thus do not worsen wages and working conditions for other workers. "The vast majority of the jobs now held by Mexican migrants —even the illegals—pay at least the minimum wage and usually a good deal more," says Dr. Wayne Cornelius, director of U.S.-Mexican studies at the University of California at San Diego. Moreover, illegal immigrants have become so much a part of the U.S. work force, some economists contend, that dismissing them would cripple certain industries. Admits Republican Senator S.I. Hayakawa of California: "If the illegal aliens were thrown out of Los Angeles today, three-quarters of the restaurants would be closed tomorrow morning."

A broader question than jobs is just how much of a burden immigrants place on social services and other government programs. The impact is perhaps greatest on school systems across the nation. In Chicago, for example, more than 38,000 students are receiving bilingual instruction in a babel of languages from Assyrian to Urdu and at a cost of $32.5 million. Even at that level of spending, school officials cannot find enough qualified teachers.

Still, odd as it may sound, illegal aliens may contribute more in taxes than they take away in welfare benefits, medical services and other programs. Many aliens do place their children in schools and receive free emergency medical care at hospitals. Yet relatively few sign up for welfare or food stamps. According to a study done by Economics Professor Julian Simon of the University of Illinois, few illegals receive Social Security, the costliest service of all, while a surprising 77% pay Social Security taxes and 73% have federal income tax withheld.

Many critics argue that the most alarming threat posed by immigrants, both legal and illegal, rests simply in their numbers. The newcomers are believed to be causing the population of the U.S. to mushroom at a time when there is concern that the country will some day no longer be able to take adequate care of its own citizens, let alone others. Immigration, according to Donald Mann, president of Negative Population Growth, Inc., already accounts for more than half of the nation's growth. "The economic pie is not growing and the day of the frontier is over," says Democratic Governor Richard Lamm of Colorado. "America cannot become the lifeboat of all of the excess population floating around."

The dilemma, intractable as ever, remains. How should the U.S. go about reforming its immigration policies? The Hesburgh commission recommended upping the number of legal immigrants admitted annually from 270,000 to 450,000 a year for five years, then cutting the annual total to 350,000. The panel also suggested that Washington continue to exempt immediate relatives of U.S. citizens from the ceilings as well as admit 50,000 refugees a year. As for illegal aliens, the commission recommended granting amnesty to most of those who arrived in the U.S. before 1980, thus allowing them to remain here and become citizens. To halt the flow of aliens entering the country in the future, however, the panel suggested imposing sanctions against employers who hire illegals and adopting a "more secure" form of worker identification to prevent illegals from passing themselves off as eligible to work in the U.S.

The amnesty provision enjoys a wide range of support, from Senator Simpson, the AFL-CIO and Hispanic groups. Yet critics argue that most aliens come to the U.S. seeking only temporary work and have no desire to settle permanently in the country. According to Dr. Jorge Bustamante, professor of sociology at the Colegio de Mexico in Mexico City, about 95% of the Mexicans who cross into the U.S. seek only seasonal work and return to their families each year.

With that argument in mind, some propose establishing a "guest worker" program under which visas are issued to aliens who wish to work temporarily in the U.S.—a proposal endorsed by Ronald Reagan during last fall's presidential campaign. Yet many Hispanic leaders are wary of the plan unless it includes regulation of wages and working conditions. Without these safeguards, says Soliz, "all the program does is legalize the exploitation of workers." Others argue that such a program would only encourage more Mexicans to come to the U.S. looking for work—and do nothing to diminish the stream of illegals.

The proposal to impose sanctions against employers who hire illegal aliens is also supported by Senator Simpson and such groups as the AFL-CIO and the N.A.A.C.P., but many employers vehemently oppose it. Aliens are needed to fill the jobs most Americans turn down, they say, and it is too difficult to check whether prospective employees are indeed U.S. citizens. Also opposed to the plan are Hispanic leaders, who fear that employers will use the excuse of the sanctions to discriminate against minority citizens. Says Arnoldo Torres, congressional liaison for the League of United Latin American Citizens: "Employers will say, 'I can't hire you because I'm not sure and I don't want to get caught.'"

Yet no proposal stirs as much concern as the commission's vague plan to adopt a "more secure" form of worker identification that would assure employers of the applicant's right to work in the U.S. Though the panel correctly pointed out that a Social Security card—the proof of citizenship most often asked for by prospective employers—is laughably easy to forge, the commission could not agree on whether the new system should consist of a "counterfeit-resistant" Social Security card or a

Senator Simpson conferring with Representative Mazzoli

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new kind of identification card altogether. Some opponents fear that any sort of ID would be not only a nightmare to administer but, more important, too totalitarian for most Americans to tolerate. Simpson, for one, remains undaunted. Says he: "If there is nothing else I get done I intend to send a signal to the world that you have to have some kind of identification before you work here. Right now we are the patsies of the earth."

The commission also recommended beefing up the INS—substantially increasing, for instance, the number of officers patrolling the Mexican border. Yet, in its budget-cutting fervor, the Reagan Administration has already proposed snipping the INS's appropriation from $371 million to $363 million. Many also argue that it is impossible for the INS to close the borders anyway, while others point out that increased surveillance may only trap some aliens in the U.S. who regularly cross back to their native land.

Some argue that the only way to curb illegal immigrants is to diminish their main reason for coming: a dearth of jobs and opportunities in their own lands. Some Hispanic leaders, for example, propose that Washington help promote "twin plants" along the U.S.-Mexican border, in which raw materials are processed in the U.S. and then shipped across the border for assembly in Mexico. But even if these schemes proved possible, the U.S. would still be confronted with millions of people from other countries eager to come to the land of opportunity. Though some Americans may feel their economy is ailing, the nation remains almost as bright a beacon of hope and prosperity for the world's downtrodden as it did at the turn of the century.

What is to be done? The U.S., long a nation of immigrants itself, can surely continue to absorb something close to the number of legal entrants it now accepts. But it must act swiftly and resolutely to make it more difficult for foreigners to come here illegally—and for businesses to hire them. A national ID card is a bad idea. Tougher border enforcement is a good one, as are swifter deportation proceedings, a "guest worker" program with sufficient protections for the "guests," stiff penalties for those who employ illegal aliens, and amnesty for illegals already here. The U.S. must also seek ways to make other nations share in the task of accepting outpourings of refugees like the Cuban exodus of 1980. The Reagan Administration already has a boatload of ideas to choose from—some good, some bad—and the President's own task force has not even weighed in yet. When the time comes to act, that son of a son of an Irish immigrant would do well to keep in mind that now, just as when his own forebears arrived, America without immigrants would somehow not be America. *—By James Kelly. Reported by D.L. Coutu/Los Angeles and Eileen Shields/Washington*

"We Were Poor in Cuba, but . . ."

"I never expected to leave one prison to come to another. I was hoping to find a nice place to live and a good job so I could be on my way."
—Alberto Castillo Rosell, 23, prisoner at the Atlanta penitentiary

Castillo, who was serving a 33-year prison sentence in Cuba for arson, is marking his first anniversary in the U.S. He is one of the 125,000 Cubans who clambered hopefully aboard a ragtag flotilla bound for the U.S. from the harbor of Mariel, 27 miles west of Havana. Most of them were ordinary seekers of liberty. But the Cuban government supplied some of the passengers, including inmates like Castillo, who were taken from prisons and asylums and ordered aboard for the 110-mile trip to Florida. Whatever brought them to the U.S., the Marielitos have one shocking discovery in common: this is no paradise.

More than 70% of the Marielitos settled in Miami's Dade County, joining 600,000 Cubans already there. Particularly in Little Havana, on Miami's near southwest side, the new wave is vividly manifest: everywhere there are shoeshine stands and new immigrants on the streets hawking lemons and limes, flowers, hot peanuts and *granizado* (flavored ice). But the newcomers' statistical imprint is less charming. Most of them receive food stamps, and 45,000 live below the Government's official poverty line for the area ($7,412 for a family of four). They are committing suicide at seven times the average rate in the U.S., and the leading cause of death among them is homicide. Most of the immigrants speak little English, and some 50% are unemployed. Says Rosa Rodriquez Orama, 30, who lives with her husband in the bathroom of a Miami gas station: "We were poor in Cuba, but at least I had more comforts than this. I made a mistake in coming."

DANIEL T. KAMIN

Cuban refugee behind Atlanta prison gates

About 4,000 of the Cubans, overwhelmingly single and male, remain in federal custody awaiting sponsorship by a U.S. citizen or charitable organization—a difficult prerequisite, since nearly half the refugees are crippled, mentally ill or otherwise problematic. Most of the 4,000 are at Fort Chaffee, Ark., where, out of boredom and frustration, they have rioted twice.

Still, Fort Chaffee is scheduled to be emptied of Cubans by August. There is no timetable for getting 1,766 Cubans out of the decrepit Atlanta federal penitentiary. They and 50 compatriots in other U.S. prisons have criminal records ranging from simple theft (473 cases) to murder (121). "We've got some good Cubans here," says Mike Trominski, the Atlanta prison's ranking immigration official. "We have others we never want to hit the streets."

Exclusionary hearings, part of a standard process for immigrants whom the INS finds undesirable, have been held for 1,559. A mere 38 were granted asylum. Some 90% of the prisoners have been judged "excludable" and await deportation. Yet Cuba refuses to accept any Marielito, criminal or not.

In the main test case so far, a court ordered Pedro Rodriguez Hernandez, 48, who was a convicted thief in Cuba, released from custody. U.S. District Court Judge Richard Rogers admitted that although the "indeterminate detention of excludable aliens cannot be said to violate the U.S. Constitution," that it is nevertheless "an abuse of discretion on the part of the Attorney General." An appellate court has postponed Rodriguez's release.

The overlapping litigation on behalf of Rodriguez and his countrymen grows more elaborate by the week. The matter may eventually be decided by the Supreme Court, or Congress could declare the prisoners permanent residents; many would remain in U.S. jails but be endowed with constitutional rights. As S. George Handlesman, a lawyer for 26 of the inmates, told TIME Correspondent Anne Constable: "They will be let go. The question is how and when."

Pomp with Point

Welcome for an older brother

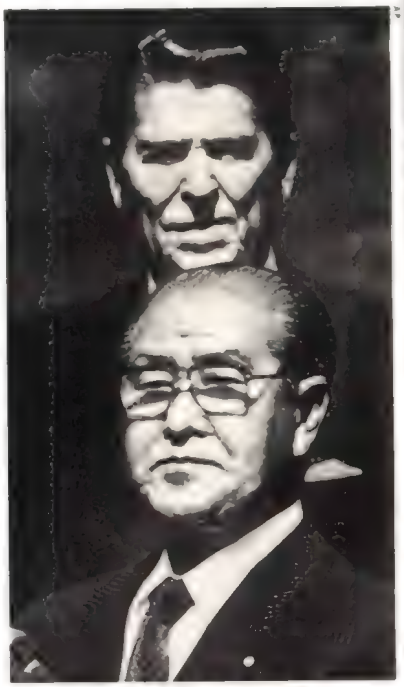
The welcome was as grand as protocol would allow. On his first visit to Washington since he assumed office last July, Japan's Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki, 70, was greeted with a fanfare of trumpets, a 19-gun salute, a military guard in 1776 revolutionary raiment and the largest diplomatic dinner the Reagans have given in the White House. The 109 guests ranged from captains of industry to Cabinet members of both countries to James Clavell, author of the bestseller *Shōgun*, and Actor Richard Chamberlain, star of the TV miniseries based on Clavell's novel. The pomp had a point. Both Reagan and his guest were eager to underscore the importance of ties between their two countries, which share $56 billion in trade as well as strategic links. Moreover, both wished to establish a style and rapport for more substantive talks concerning the U.S. desire for an increased Japanese defense effort, which are scheduled to take place in Honolulu next month.

On the surface, at least, the two-day visit was a success. Suzuki was the ninth Japanese Prime Minister to come to Washington since the end of World War II. The President and the Prime Minister were able to "speak openly, as real buddies," said Suzuki, according to his translator, and establish what he called "an unshakable basis for friendship and mutual trust." A somewhat more concrete result of the meeting was issued when the talks concluded. In a 15-point joint communiqué, Japan agreed in principle to undertake additional military functions in defending its homeland and the Far East region. For its part, the U.S. agreed to ease the transfer of nuclear technology and materials long sought by Japan's energy industry.

This parting concord was remarkable considering several recent storms in trans-Pacific relations. Only a week before his departure for the U.S., Suzuki allowed that he had been "bewildered" by Washington's decision to lift the grain embargo against the Soviet Union and angered by the American failure to consult his government "sufficiently in advance." Suzuki's countrymen were also outraged when a U.S. submarine in April collided with a Japanese freighter in the East China Sea and then inexplicably left it to sink and two crew members to die. The resolution of a third and longer-standing difference between the two nations was hammered out less than a week before Suzuki's visit, when Japan reluctantly agreed to limit the export of its automobiles to the U.S. for at least two years.

In a 50-minute private session with Suzuki, Reagan expressed his appreciation for the trade concession and tried to apply diplomatic balm to other sore spots: he described the ship collision as "tragic" and promised to consult Japan fully on future matters of mutual concern. As the President later put it to Suzuki: "The best way to handle difficulties is to pick up the phone." The two leaders apparently managed to establish a warm, personal rapport. Said Suzuki at the White House dinner: "We were born in the same year and are both proud of being a youthful 70," though the President had a decided advantage, he noted, "being 26 days younger." Rejoined Reagan: "We have decided that hereafter our relationship would be one in which *he* would be the older brother."

In the joint communiqué, the Japanese did not agree to accept the larger military role that the U.S. seeks for its ally. Constitutionally, Japan is limited to maintaining only self-defense forces, and as Suzuki told a Congressman this week, his country would "prefer to be a wise mouse rather than a roaring lion." Of some significance, however, was Japan's agreement to "make even greater efforts for improving its defense capabilities in Japanese territories and in its surrounding sea and air space" and to help alleviate "the financial burden of U.S. forces in Japan." Rough translation of the Japanese message: Don't push us too hard and we will go in the direction you wish us to go at our own pace. Accepting the reality that this was as much as Suzuki could commit himself to on paper, a White House aide said that the statement on defense was "something very important to be noted." ■



Reagan with Prime Minister Suzuki

Speaking "openly, as real buddies."

Nix to MX

Mormon leaders protest

The U.S. Air Force wants to hide 200 missiles in the bleak Great Basin desert of Utah and Nevada. Installations spreading across an area about the size of the state of New Jersey would require building 4,600 shelters and 9,000 miles of roads. Along the roadways, flatbed vehicles, forever rolling, would carry missiles tipped with ten warheads each. That is the $56 billion scheme for safeguarding the proposed MX system, a brobdingnagian shell game meant to foil a Soviet attack on the missiles. The plan has been derided as an ineffective, ecology-destroying boondoggle, and the MX now has a powerful new foe: leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who, Mormons believe, are divinely inspired when they issue a "revelation," and whose personal statements therefore also carry great weight.

"Our fathers came to this Western area to establish a base from which to carry the gospel of peace," declared Church President Spencer Kimball and his two counselors last week. "It is ironic, and a denial of the very essence of that gospel, that in this same general area there should be constructed a mammoth weapons system potentially capable of destroying much of civilization." Utah's Governor Scott Matheson, also a foe of the MX roadway plan, the Air Force's favorite among 35 safeguarding options, called the Mormons' opposition to the deployment of the missile "an exceptional step for the church to take." He added, "I think it will sway public opinion. It's going to be pretty tough for the President to ignore this." Undoubtedly. Matheson, Utah's four-man congressional delegation and 70% of the state's population are Mormons.

Political statements by the Mormon presidency usually resemble its attack on the Equal Rights Amendment in 1978. The complaint against the MX, although couched in moral terms, was not labeled a revelation, and it addressed worldly concerns. With the three-megaton missiles shuttling exclusively around Utah and Nevada, the presidency said, "one segment of the population would bear a highly disproportionate share of the burden."

In Nevada (56,000 Mormons, or 8% of the population) and Utah, there is already broad antimissile sentiment, despite the billions in construction money that would flow in over the next decade.

The U.S. has already spent $2 billion on the MX. "The missile is vital," insists Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. "The question is, where do we put it?" Last week's proclamation will make it much harder for President Reagan to adopt a plan that would implant missiles in the Mormon heartland. ■

Americana

Bye-Bye, American Pie

Next to Mom, there was nothing as American as apple pie. Alas, that most national of desserts is in decline. According to a survey by *Restaurants & Institutions* magazine, apple pie now appears on the menu at 64% of the nation's restaurants, hotels, schools and other food-serving institutions, down from 88% in 1971. Among those chefs who still dish it out, apple pie is called a "good seller" by only 57%, *vs.* 84% a decade ago. It is still the nation's most popular dessert, but as Editor in Chief Jane Young Wallace points out, "There is a trend toward healthy, low-cal foods. People seem to prefer fruit these days." Next time, make it apple pie, but hold the pie.

Hungover Jury

Justice may not have been blind, but it was probably seeing double. Jurors in the District of Columbia superior court had been deliberating a day and a half in the alleged rape of a 14-year-old girl when Foreman Robert Smoot sent a note to Judge Fred Ugast. A decision was impossible, wrote Smoot, unless two jurors were replaced. In a corner of the note Smoot penned, "Drinking problem."

Ugast was aghast when some jurors told him that Virginia Starks had been secretly drinking for days during the trial, that during deliberations, Juanita Ross had joined her, and that Starks and Ross refused even to vote on the case. Ugast, in disgust, declared a mistrial, at a cost to the public estimated by Defense Attorney Grandison E. Hill to total $150,000. In another sense, the cost may be greater. The victim may not want to go through the anguish of testifying again, and without her there would likely be no case.

Is This Drip Necessary?

When the Florida Keys Aqueduct Authority opened its new $10 million water-treatment plant at Key West last January, customers were moist with expectation. At last, Diane and William Radloff of Key Largo would be able to take a long, forceful shower. At last, Edison Archer of Plantation Key would be able to get a good glass of water in a hurry. At last, toilets up and down the Keys would flush properly. And all this for a mere doubling of monthly water bills. Or so everyone thought. In December, before the plant opened, the Radloffs had paid $14.84 for a month's supply to their one-bath home. In January the bill tripled, to $45.36. In February it jumped to $1,338. Archer got one monthly bill for $1,500. Some customers were billed as much as $4,000. The problem? Old, rusty, fragile pipes throughout the Keys could not handle the vastly increased water pressure. One by one, the pipes burst. Water seeped into the ground quietly, expensively. And the Keys Aqueduct Authority just kept on billing. Many of the ruptured pipes are on homeowners' property, and, a spokesman for the authority says, the owners will have to fix them. But the authority's central distribution system is losing 1 million gal. a day. Officials estimate it would take five years and $50 million to $60 million to replace the system's rotted pipes. Guess who will pay for that?

Playing with Death

All those vengeful citizens itching to see serious criminals get their just deserts will soon be able to impose Capital Punishment. Not via the chair, the chamber or the firing squad—but in the board game. In Capital Punishment, say Co-Inventors Bob Johnson and Ronald Pramschufer of Baltimore, the object is to put a murderer, a kidnaper, an arsonist or a rapist into the electric chair before an opponent's "liberals" can set him free by landing on the same square as the criminal. Not surprisingly, the game has outraged more than a few opponents of capital punishment. "Treating the entire subject of killing as entertainment is a sickness that could very well destroy our civilization," says Michael A. Kroll, spokesman for the D.C. Coalition Against the Death Penalty. "The game adds yet another element to our society's growing tendency to trivialize violence and death." Johnson, a writer, and Pramschufer, a printer, are no strangers to trivializing. Their previous board game, Public Assistance: Why Bother Working for a Living, was denounced by various public officials and turned down by several New York City department stores. Thirty thousand games were sold.

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR TIME BY MICHAEL WITTE

Bread upon the Waters

Father Edmund Nadolny lives by the Bible, though he does not always know which part. Two years ago, he thought he was testing the "Parable of the Talents" when he borrowed $20,000 and gave it to 50 investors who would share their profits with the church. In the Bible, two servants return with profits and a third is hurtled into "outer darkness." In Father Nadolny's case, only five came back with earnings. Loss: about $18,000.

Father Nadolny's losses got publicity —not surprisingly, for he oversees radio and television for the Hartford archdiocese and has his own radio call-in show —and the parable changed, to the story of bread cast upon the waters. He received 23,000 sympathetic letters fat with checks. Father Nadolny's deficit became a surplus of about $190,000, given to the diocesan radio and television fund.

Now all he has to do is re-enact the story of the loaves and fishes. Thousands of other letters asked Father Nadolny to share his talents again. Said he: "I got $210,000 in donations, but I got requests for more than $10 million."

MIDDLE EAST

Delay with Diplomacy

The U.S. seeks a solution to the missile confrontation in Lebanon

They stood out like glistening white beacons against the green countryside, their silver warheads gleaming lethally in the sunshine. Beside the main highway from Beirut to Damascus, a dozen of them were poised on a gentle, flower-strewn ridge that overlooks the verdant Bekaa Valley in eastern Lebanon. Farther to the north, outside the airbase at Riyaq where Israeli Phantoms shot down two Syrian helicopters two weeks ago, another dozen were perched on newly dug mounds of earth. These were Syria's Soviet-made SA-6 missiles, one of the most potent antiaircraft weapons in the Syrian armory—and the potentially explosive epicenter of a dangerous new Middle East crisis.

The Syrians made no attempt last week to camouflage the menacing new weaponry they had moved into Lebanon in support of their 22,000 peace-keeping forces in the country. Syrian President Hafez Assad was obviously defying the Israelis, insisting that the missiles were necessary for the defense of his forces and that he had no intention of removing them. With equal vehemence, Israel insisted that the presence of the missiles was an unacceptable violation of the tacitly accepted status quo in Lebanon's complex political equation and that they had to be removed. Warned Prime Minister Menachem Begin: "There are possibilities that the problem will be solved peacefully, or otherwise"—meaning, clearly, by resorting to military action.

As Syria and Israel braced for a violent showdown that could bring war to the region once again—and one, moreover, that conceivably could drag in the superpowers—the U.S. and the Soviet Union moved swiftly to restrain their respective allies. Caught in the middle, as always, battered Lebanon waited anxiously for others to settle its fate.

Frantic diplomatic efforts by the U.S. succeeded in persuading Israel to hold its fire in the dangerous, 72-hr. period after the Israelis discovered the missiles. By that time, Washington had prepared its own initiative to relieve the pressure on both Damascus and Jerusalem. U.S. Ambassador to Israel Samuel Lewis personally hand-carried a 1¼-page letter from President Ronald Reagan to Begin. The letter reiterated U.S. assertions that Washington wanted to pursue diplomatic avenues before military action was taken. Begin interpreted the message as a continuing sign of U.S. sympathy for Israel's position on the missiles and agreed to hold off any action for "a reasonable period." Then, last week, Begin sent a letter of his own warning Reagan that the situation was similar to the crisis that preceded the 1967 Six Day war, when Israel took preemptive military action.

In the meantime the White House dispatched Philip Habib, a widely respected career diplomat who had retired in 1978, to mediate with the various parties. Habib promptly got a firsthand view of what the argument was all about. Since Beirut Airport was still closed as a result of shellings last month, he was forced to fly to Damascus and drive to Beirut. His route, as it turned out, took him right past the missile installations along the highway. Once in the Lebanese capital, he huddled with Lebanon's President Elias Sarkis before going on to Damascus and Jerusalem for similar discussions later in the week. His orders were to do more listening than talking at first. The White House hoped that eventually he would begin to shuttle among the three capitals, trying to ease tensions.

Special Middle East Envoy Habib, center, confers in Beirut with U.S. Ambassador John Gunther Dean, left, and Lebanon's President Sarkis

For all the legitimate concerns, the crisis had elements of a political game whose stakes had, perhaps unwittingly, got out of hand.

Meanwhile, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, in a rare display of joint concern, consulted about the best way of cutting the fuse in Lebanon. Three times in nine days, Soviet Ambassador Anatoli Dobrynin called at the State Department. Moscow also dispatched its own emissary—Georgi Kornienko, First Deputy Foreign Minister—to tour the region in the same fashion as Habib. One Palestinian leader in Lebanon wryly reported that Soviet embassy officials had visited him, asking, "What do you think is going to happen? What does it mean?" He added: "They only come around when they are worried."

For the time being, both the Syrians and the Israelis held their fire. Israel was reported to be massing forces along its

northern border with Lebanon and even within the "Free Lebanon" enclave south of the Litani River that is under the control of Major Sa'ad Haddad, a right-wing Christian militia leader. Lebanese officials were fearful lest Israel invade the south and attempt to destroy the Palestinian bases there.

From Damascus, the official news agency, SANA, reported that Syria was staging war games on its own territory to show that its forces were "continuously ready to confront Israel at any time." Rumors that Syria had sent some 4,000 of its peace-keeping forces south of the Beirut-Damascus highway, however, were refuted by U.N. and U.S. observers.

For all the bona fide concerns on both sides, the crisis also had some elements of a political game whose players, perhaps unwittingly, had let the stakes get out of hand. Syria, for example, could not hope to win a war with Israel. Yet there it was deploying its missiles in the most provocative fashion possible. As one British intelligence specialist observed: "It's hard to take too seriously a line of missiles drawn up as if on the playground, without any semblance of camouflage."

So what was Syria up to? One theory was that President Assad was trying to bolster his political image at home while easing his isolation in the Arab world brought about in part by his backing of non-Arab Iran in its war with Iraq. Last week the 21-nation Arab League, which originally approved Syria's presence in Lebanon to enforce the 1976 armistice in the civil war but has grown increasingly concerned about Assad's belligerence, gave the President a pledge of support in the event of war with Israel.

As for Prime Minister Begin, he may have believed he would gain by ringing the patriotic bells of crisis in the midst of his uphill campaign for re-election. Trouble was that an increasing number of Israelis last week were beginning to question whether the attack on the Syrian helicopters had not been rash. Begin's version of the attack was sharply contradicted by one of Israel's most respected military correspondents, Zeev Schiff. Begin had claimed that the helicopters were gunships shot down to "save the Christians of northern Lebanon from collapse." Schiff reported that the helicopters were in fact transporting equipment, just as Syria had claimed all along. British intelligence sources confirmed the report. Even more worrisome was the admission by an Israeli official that "we anticipated when we had to strike the choppers that the Syrians would move in the missiles."

As some Israelis fretted that the country could be dragged inadvertently into a "little Viet Nam" in Lebanon, Chaim Herzog, former Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. and a likely Cabinet choice if the Labor Party wins the June 30 election, vigorously attacked the entire Begin government's approach to the crisis. Herzog was the first major public figure to question the validity of Begin's assertion that Israel acted to prevent the Syrians from committing "genocide" against the Christians.

A battery of Syria's Soviet-made SA-6 missiles, poised on a ridge overlooking the Bekaa Valley near the Beirut-Damascus highway

Black boxes, a red line, and a crisis in a helpless country that has gone on far too long and far too dangerously

As the week went by, Western military experts wondered why the Israelis were so strenuously protesting the presence of the SA-6 missiles in the Bekaa Valley. To be sure, the SA-6 is a sophisticated missile that is effective at altitudes up to 30,000 ft., riding an electronic beam to its target that is sought out by ground-based radar. The Syrians used the missiles with deadly effect against Israeli jets during the opening days of the 1973 October War. But the U.S. had quickly rushed electronic "black boxes" to the Israelis that confounded the missiles. Still, the Israelis argued that any threat at all to its aerial reconnaissance of Palestinian strongholds and activities in Lebanon was insupportable.

An intriguing background issue to the dispute was whether or not the presence of the SA-6s violated a so-called red line agreement worked out by Israel and the U.S. about the deployment of forces in Lebanon. Syria took no part in the discussion and, understandably, denies that it has any bearing on its conduct. Begin also denies the existence of a red line, but former Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. Simcha Dinitz told TIME last week that he and Yigal Allon, then Israel's Foreign Minister, had negotiated its terms with then Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

According to Dinitz, Syria was to have no more than one infantry brigade south of a line between Beirut and Damascus, to engage in no naval operations on the Lebanese coast or air activity against Syrian opponents, and to deploy no missiles in Lebanon. Helicopters were not mentioned. Dinitz added that it was left up to the U.S. to convey the terms to Syria. "Since it was not a formal agreement with the Syrians," Dinitz added, "there was no indication from them of consent to it. But we made it clear that we would not tolerate any breach of those terms." By this account, it would appear that Syria had not violated Israel's own red line when it used helicopters in Lebanon. Once the helicopters were shot down, the Syrians moved in the missiles and the crisis grew.

At week's end Habib declined to make any comment on his exhaustive round of talks except to note that the situation was still "dangerous." Even as sporadic explosions echoed throughout war-torn Beirut, Habib met with Christian Leaders Pierre and Bashir Gemayel, Walid Jumblatt, head of the leftist alliance, and former President Camille Chamoun, titular head of the right-wing Lebanese Front. The two groups have had an uneasy relationship since the end of the civil war between them in 1976. The talks were regarded as a sign that the U.S. intended to involve itself not only in the current missile standoff between Syria and Israel but in Lebanon's own agonizing internal situation as well. It was a crisis that had gone on far too long, and far too dangerously. —*By Marguerite Johnson. Reported by David Aikman/Jerusalem and William Stewart/Beirut*

Members of Zionist Youth Movement, at Yad Vashem Memorial, hold torches at service for victims of the Holocaust

COVER STORY

Troubled Land of Zion

Amid military tensions and internal problems, Israelis face a crucial choice

At precisely 11 a.m. one day last week, air raid sirens across Israel sounded a single, high-pitched "all clear" blast for two minutes, and the country came to a standstill. On Jaffa Road in the heart of Jerusalem, pedestrians froze in their tracks. Lounging border troops sprang to attention. Vehicles braked to a halt in the middle of intersections. Bus passengers rose to their feet—as did people all across the nation. In stores, restaurants and offices, conversations stopped, forks were put down, typewriters and business machines hushed. It was Israel's Memorial Day. In the silent vigil, Israelis remembered the dead of the five wars they have fought since the creation of the state in 1948 *

Then, at sunset, the next day's observance began, this one in joy rather than sorrow. The day of mourning was followed by the festive Independence Day, this year marking the 33rd year of Israel's existence as a state. Jerusalem's King George Street was closed to traffic as young people linked arms to dance the hora and began the celebration. Some of the merriment lasted through the night with springtime abandon.

Israel, at 33, had some reasons to celebrate. The country had enjoyed nearly a decade of peace since the 1973 October War. It had signed a historic peace treaty with Egypt, the largest and most powerful of its Arab neighbors. It had achieved a fair measure of prosperity and a high living standard for its 3.9 million citizens. Yet beneath the surface gaiety Israel's mood was troubled. The once exuberant young democracy, the land of gardens in the desert and triumphs on the battlefield, showed signs of age, uneasiness and uncertainty. In many ways it seemed a nation at odds with itself, with its past, with its values. The vision of the future once so boldly defined by its leaders seemed somehow out of focus. Faced with a world more complicated than the one into which it was born, it seemed to lack direction.

There was ample cause for Israelis to be concerned. The country was beset by internal troubles and a burning foreign crisis. Concern about a possible new war with Syria was on everyone's mind. Prime Minister Menachem Begin's transitional government, charged with guiding the country until the June 30 elections, found itself embroiled in a growing campaign controversy over Israel's actions in Leb-

Prime Minister Menachem Begin in Jerusalem

Little patience with Arab grievances.

Border police with riot equipment line up on the

*The 1948-49 war following independence, the 1956 Suez war, the Six-Day War of 1967, the 1969-70 war of attrition, and the 1973 October War

anon. On Independence Day Begin declared in a broadcast that it would take a "miracle" to induce Syria by diplomacy alone to remove the SA-6 antiaircraft missiles it has placed in Lebanon. The Israeli government, he added dourly, did not believe in miracles.

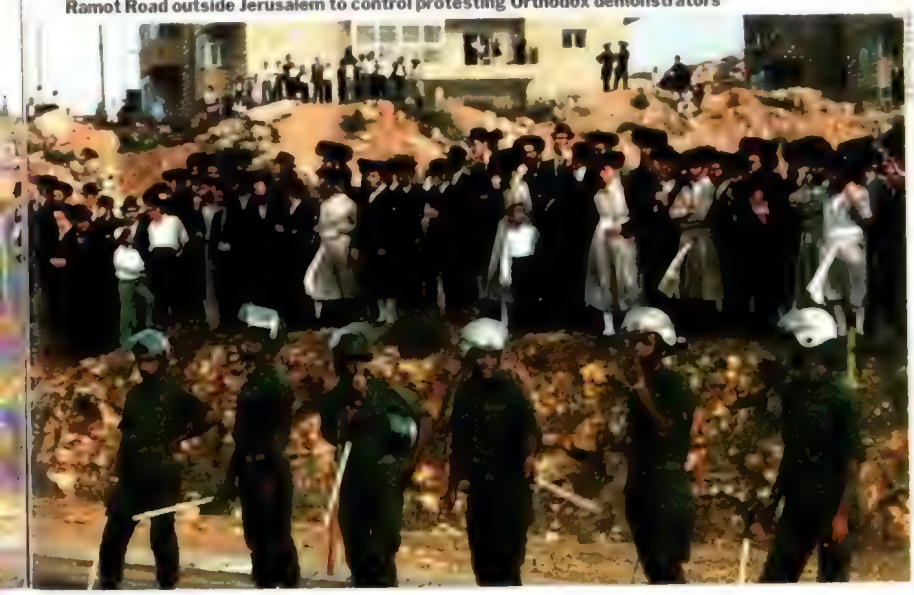
Israel's economy, unfortunately, seemed in need of a miracle. The Independence Day celebrations were almost dimmed—quite literally—by a threatened walkout of the country's electrical workers, who were demanding higher wages. They relented only in the face of the national holiday. Their threat was typical of the endemic labor troubles that have been engendered by the country's hyperinflation, which has been running at 130%. At the same time economic growth was stagnating, and the foreign debt deepening.

Beyond the fear of a new war and the squeeze of a chaotic economy, social problems old and new are tearing at the fabric of Israeli society. Ethnic differences, exacerbated by social inequalities, strain relations between the Ashkenazi Jews of Northern Europe and the Sephardi Jews of the Mediterranean and the Muslim world. Religious quarrels set observant Orthodox Jews against the secular values of less pious Israelis. Lawlessness in general has risen sharply in a nation unused to it, and a small but flourishing Israeli "Mafia" has become an embarrassing new entry in international organized crime. A restive younger generation has shown growing dissatisfaction with the lack of job opportunities, the disruptive effects of compulsory military service, housing shortages and the political process.

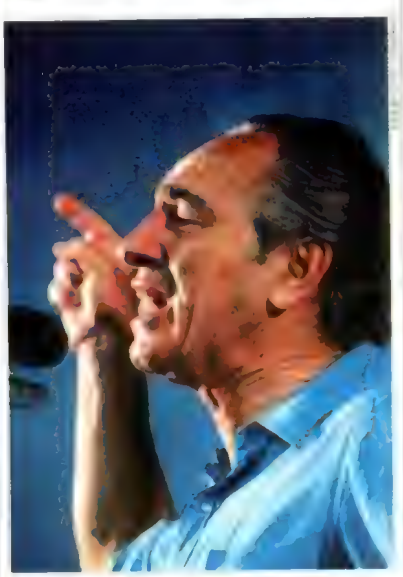
The most dramatic manifestation, to some observers, is a disheartening exodus. Each month fully 2,000 Israelis leave for other lands. While demographers explain that this is a normal outflow for a free society, the trend runs counter to Israel's very reason for being. The emigrants' motives are mixed, but their departure suggests a loss of the visionary strength common to the pioneers of an earlier generation, who often risked their lives to get into—and stay in—Israel.

All of these problems are reflected, some more bitterly than others, in the current election campaign, which will culminate in a vote for a new Knesset—and with it a new government. The shifting public opinion as the campaign built up was itself a significant measure of national uncertainty about the country's direction. Last January, when the Likud coalition government was forced to call early elections after a protracted period of infighting and noisy public walkouts by key Cabinet ministers, a Labor election victory under Party Leader Shimon Peres seemed almost assured. Polls showed, in fact, that Labor might obtain a genuine majority in the 120-seat Knesset, more than it has ever managed to do before. Last week, however, a new poll showed Labor and Likud each taking 41 seats, with a scattering going to minor parties, and a number undecided.

The startling recovery of Begin and his Likud coalition was due in part to Labor's overconfidence and failure to mount an aggressive early offensive. The departure from Begin's Cabinet of such prickly individualists as Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman and Finance Minister Yigal Hurvitz helped to give the coalition the illusion of unity, even if some critics saw it more properly as a vacuum. Newly appointed Finance Minister Yoram Aridor had added an undeniably popular move by reducing excise taxes and import duties on luxury items like color television sets and autos. The "Aridor effect," as it promptly became known, sent Israelis on a crazy buying spree. Laborites angrily charged that it was a shameless attempt to buy votes for which the country would have to pay later. Some middle-of-the-road opinion was also scandalized. "The Israeli government has suddenly evaporated," commented Columnist Amnon Dankner in Tel Aviv's daily *Ha'aretz*. "It is hovering over the



Ramot Road outside Jerusalem to control protesting Orthodox demonstrators



Labor Leader Shimon Peres in Tel Aviv

"Full autonomy" for the occupied zones.

Arab passes border police in East Jerusalem

An Arab woman and her donkey walk past a new settlement on the road to Jericho

earth like some pinkish cloud out of which there rains down on us every week Aridor's latest portion of manna." Nonetheless, the manna was fattening the average wage earner's buying power and providing for goods that were previously far too expensive

Complicating the race for both major parties were the twists and turns of Old Soldier Dayan's political maneuvers. Early last month he announced the formation of his own Movement for National Renewal. As an independent candidate Dayan appeared to be a possible spoiler in the campaign, able to attract as many as 20 or 25 seats in the Knesset. But by last week the latest poll showed him taking only four seats. One possible explanation for his rapid slippage: voters' memories of a comparably idealistic third party in 1977, which generated high hopes but quickly split into bickering factions.

On the campaign trail, Begin pressed home his vision of *Eretz Israel*, the "land of Israel" with its extended biblical boundaries, as a necessary bastion of strength in a hostile world. As he had in 1977, Begin, an Ashkenazi originally from Poland, was skillfully using his hawkish posture to retain the support of lower-income Sephardi Jewish refugees from Arab lands who shared his distrust of Arabs. Two weeks ago, at a festival in Jerusalem's Sacher Park attended by some 50,000 North African Jews, Begin so charmed his audience that bodyguards had to protect the frail candidate from his listeners' affection. Later, when Peres tried to mount the same podium, he was greeted with a shower of tomatoes and oranges thrown by jeering young men and was forced to retreat from the rostrum without uttering a word. Labor charged angrily that the Likud had orchestrated the demonstration

Begin was on the offensive again last week, recklessly linking old horrors to current problems. He issued a scathing denunciation of West Germans in general and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in particular for dealing with Saudi Arabia and for supporting the Palestine Liberation Organization. Ignoring decades of attempted reconciliation and restitution, Begin charged in his diatribe that the Germans, in effect, were still Nazis at heart and had forgotten the Holocaust and their penitential obligation to Israel *(see box)*.

Peres' Labor Party has been slow to fashion its own offensive. For most of the three months after the campaign began, his party acted as though the election were already won and set about choosing who among them would be the winners. That, in Israel's complicated proportional representation, involves elaborate wheeling and dealing to dole out ranks on the party list, the 120-candidate roster from which the voters will select the new Knesset members. Because the percentage of the popular vote determines how many on the list will be elected, places at the top are the prizes

In Jerusalem, unemployed automobile and truck drivers register for work at labor office

Imported cars are off-loaded at airport

Heavy outlays for defense spending are coupled with an avalanche of voracious buying of consumer goods.

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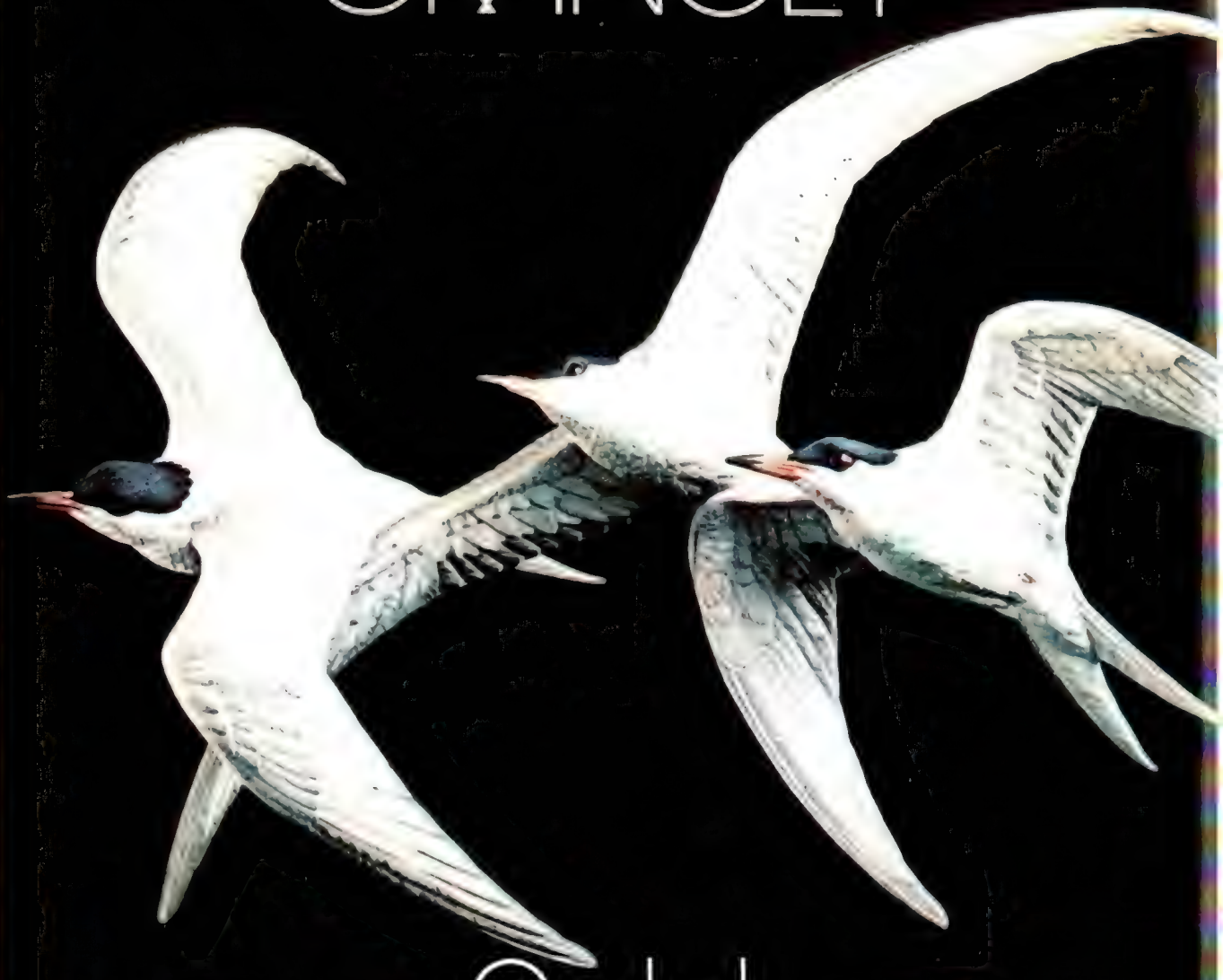

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The jockeying for position can be fierce. One party heavyweight, Abba Eban, a former Foreign Minister, was previously No. 2 after Peres; now he is No. 3. To soothe his feelings, former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Peres' bitter rival, was moved from 20th position to fourth.

In the No. 2 spot Peres last week placed a new name: Shoshana Arbelli-Almozlino, 55, a hawkish Knesset member and teacher, who went to Israel from Iraq. It was a shrewd choice, designed to give Labor more appeal among women and non-European Jews and to counter Peres' own relatively dovish image. In a meeting last week to hammer out the key top half of their final list, Peres sounded oddly hawkish himself. He accused Begin of inconsistency in regard to the occupied territories. "I don't accept Begin's statements," he said at one point. "He says he won't give up Judea and Samaria [the West Bank]. Who then gave up the Northern Sinai and Sharm el Sheikh without asking anybody? Did we?" Added Peres sarcastically: "Who betrayed his ideals more than anyone else?"

Few Israeli leaders could be more different from one another than the aging, pugnacious Menachem Begin, 67, and the vigorous if sometimes reticent Shimon Peres, 57. Begin was forged by the Holocaust, and carries his fury like the harpoon of Captain Ahab. Peres escaped the scar. The difference is crucial. Begin, looking backward to the genocide, vows with other Israelis: "Never again." But he seems to have little patience with the grievances of the Arabs or understanding of their rights, and too often he shapes a policy that invites attack. Peres, who observes the vow less flamboyantly, seems more open to Arab concerns. He tends to look forward to construct Israel's future in ways that defuse such attack.

The Likud coalition, built around Begin's Herut Party and its Liberal allies, is in most ways the polar opposite of Labor. Likud is more sympathetic to Orthodox Jewish strictures in Israeli law; Labor is not. Likud subscribes to laissez-faire economics; Labor has built Israel's welfare state. Labor's supporters include unionists, kibbutzniks, professionals, the Likud's entrepreneurs and nationalists.

The two parties' philosophies clash most sharply in their vision of what Israel is and what the place of the occupied territories should be in Israel's future. At the heart of the issue are the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Tellingly, most Israelis refer to the West Bank by the biblical regional names that Begin made fashionable: Judea and Samaria. Begin, in fact, would like to add them to the permanent map of the country, as part of the state of Israel. According to its official policy, the Likud would offer "full autonomy" to the Arab population. The hyperbolic formulation gives lip service to the Camp David agreement but little else. The "autonomy" would include administrative control over police, taxation and urban administration, but would not, for example, extend to such matters as water supplies, land use, immigration and security. Theoretically, ultimate sovereignty could follow further negotiations, but Begin's own position is clear. Visiting a West Bank settlement on Independence Day, he vowed that "as long as I serve the nation as Prime Minister, we will not leave any part of Judea, Samaria, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights."

The Labor Party, on the other hand, is committed to a negotiated withdrawal from most of the West Bank, although so far it has found no one with whom to negotiate. Peres' plan calls for Israel to return to Jordan about 80% of the population and 70% of the land of the West Bank, retaining 30% of the territory, including some Labor-founded settlements. Jordan has so far publicly refused to discuss the plan. Former Foreign Minister Eban, speaking for many, points out the pragmatic virtue of avoiding "the need to exercise coercive rule over a million and a quarter people against their wishes and the will of the world." Adds Peres: "What makes Israel a Jewish state are the number of Jews who live in it."

The cost of that Jewish state has risen sharply over the years. If Labor returns to power this summer, it cannot en-

Sounding Off with a Vengeance

ELLIOTT BANFIELD

Menachem Begin displayed his most aggressive streak last week in attacking his favorite enemy after the Arabs, the Germans. Irritated by statements from West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in support of the Palestinians, the Israeli Prime Minister fired off an incendiary salvo. Said Begin in an address to party leaders: "It seems the Holocaust has conveniently slipped his mind. The German debt to the Jewish people can never end—not in this generation and not in any other. Such words have not been heard since the end of World War II, when the world saw what was done to us in the crematoriums."

Returning from a trip to Saudi Arabia last week, Schmidt had stressed that West Germans, as citizens of a divided nation, were sympathetic to the Palestinian "moral claims of self-determination" and warned against branding all factions of the P.L.O. "terrorists." Though he was careful to reaffirm Israel's right to exist, Schmidt faulted Begin's policies as "not farsighted enough."

As if that were not enough to inflame Begin, Schmidt had also characterized him unflatteringly in an off-the-record remark that found its way into the West German weekly *Stern* and, apparently, to Begin's ears. The Jews, Schmidt reportedly said, had taken 2,000 years to found a state "and then 30 years later, along comes a lunatic like Begin and puts everything at risk."

Begin, whose parents died in the Nazi Holocaust and whose animosity toward Germany is such that he even refuses to ride in German cars, was little inclined to let Schmidt off with just one stinging rebuke. Later in the week, he told reporters that Germans "should be ashamed of their Chancellor." Then, in a rambling radio speech on Israel's Independence Day, he insinuated that Schmidt had backed Nazi persecution of Jews just by serving in the German army on the eastern front in World War II. Schmidt did serve as an army lieutenant on the eastern and western fronts, but he was later cleared of any Nazi connections by the British. Still, Begin was not deterred. Schmidt, he charged, had "remained faithful to Hitler until the last moment."

Hoping to avoid a diplomatically dangerous exchange of insults, the normally sharp-tongued Schmidt refused comment, suggesting only that Begin read the complete transcript of his remarks. An official Bonn spokesman, meanwhile, dismissed Begin's accusations as "misleading and insulting," and inexcusable even during an election campaign. Though Begin supporters denied the charges of electioneering, there was little doubt that his anti-German tirade was popular at home. Begin seemed downright pleased by the diplomatic havoc he had wrought. Said he: "I won't lose even a moment's sleep."

tirely blame Begin for the runaway economy it inherits. In Israel's first two decades, of course, Labor Party leaders from David Ben-Gurion onward were glad to claim credit for the ebullient growth of a prospering new society: with an average 10% annual growth in the G.N.P., the pioneers were making more than the desert bloom. The Six-Day War of 1967, which thrust Israel out to the Red Sea and the Jordan River, complicated this glowing picture.

While the economy still grew, the country had to build up its arsenal in an arms race with Egypt and Syria, acquiring an increasingly burdensome foreign-trade deficit. Still, with a touch of the hubris typical of the time, Yitzhak Rabin declared in September 1973: "Golda [Meir] has better boundaries than King David or King Solomon." A few weeks later Egyptian armor pierced those boundaries and collapsed the illusion. Israel resisted invasion, but at a steep price.

As Prime Minister after the October War, Rabin presided over a demoralized country. Israel counted 2,552 dead, 7,500 wounded—casualties that touched virtually every household. The economy was a casualty too, as Israel had to begin replacing an estimated $10 billion in war equipment lost in the conflict. That enormous outlay was deepened by the oil crisis and worldwide cycle of recession and inflation in 1974 and 1975. When the Labor Party went down to defeat in 1977, it was at least partly for economic reasons: inflation then was running at an "unhealthy" rate of 39%.

A fervent advocate of free enterprise, incoming Prime Minister Menachem Begin tried to inject new life into the economy by exposing it more directly to international competition. He gave Israelis for the first time the right to hold up to $3,000 in foreign currency. The 1978 budget increased both public spending and government credits to exporters. The efforts to stimulate the economy succeeded all too well. Israelis went on a buying binge with their new foreign cash, and inflation went skyward. Before the end of 1978 it stood at 48%; in 1979 it hit 111% and last year briefly reached 200%.

The potentially crippling effects of this hyperinflation, terrifying from the outside, have been cushioned inside Israel by one of the world's most sophisticated systems of economic indexation. It shields the wage earner by linking most significant money transactions to the inflation rate. Wages must be automatically adjusted by an employer to compensate for 80% of the current rate. Similar adjustments are made for personal savings, pensions, life insurance policies and mortgages. Indexation, however, did not prevent some painful constraints, nor deter those trying to anticipate the next round of price rises. "I have doubts whether indexation can continue to be the answer," says Arnon Gafny, governor of the Bank of Israel. "The faster the inflation rate, the less effective indexation may be."

Because of inflation, most Israelis could no longer afford to purchase ever more costly consumer goods—until Aridor stepped in as Begin's Finance Minister in January. His cuts in excise taxes and prices triggered an avalanche of voracious buying. Just in the first month of the new policies, Israelis bought 100,000 television sets, mostly color models, and 200,000 other major appliances. A parade of 747 cargo planes has descended on Ben-Gurion International Airport near Tel Aviv laden with luxury goods from the U.S. and West Germany; one El Al jetliner from Western Europe even bumped some passengers to add appliances.

The euphoria of the spring shopping spree contrasts sharply with Israel's sorely strained finances within the world economy. "Our real crisis," says the Bank of Israel's Gafny, "is the fact that for the past seven years the economy has not been growing. Our G.N.P. is almost static." In 1980, in fact, the rise in G.N.P. was a mere .9%, a disaster for a nation that must pay ever higher import bills. Israel's energy bill alone, a relatively tiny $200 million in 1973, had increased tenfold by 1980, to $2.2 billion. Foreign debt stood at a chilling $17.5 billion—an awesome 83% of the G.N.P.—$4,500 for every man, woman and child in Israel.

Israel's exports, from armaments to oranges to wine, have grown from $1.4 billion in 1973 to $10.2 billion last year, but not enough to offset $13.9 billion in imports for 1980. Israel's swelling deficit is reflected in its shrinking currency. The depreciated Israeli pound was renamed the shekel 14 months ago and was worth 25¢; last week the shekel was selling at an embarrassing 10¢.

Heavy outlays for defense spending, in addition to the cost of energy and debt repayment, have fueled Israel's economic crisis. In 1980 the country's military security cost $5.4 billion, fully 31% of the $17.7 billion budget—and that does not count $1.4 billion in military aid from the U.S. to allay losses from the peace treaty with Egypt. Israel's war machine is formidable. The Israel Defense Forces (I.D.F.) has grown immensely since the traumatic weeks of the 1973 October War. The armed forces now number 169,000, with 252,000 reservists ready to report on 24 to 48 hours' notice. The I.D.F. possesses 481 planes, with 90 F-15s and F-16s on order, and 3,050 tanks—many of them highly sophisticated.

Some of the sophistication is home grown, the product of Israel's fast-developing and innovative defense industry—the seventh largest in the world. The weapons have been designed for Israel's own needs: the lightweight, high-powered UZI submachine gun, which has become a symbol of Israeli arms technology; the heavily armored and sharpshooting Merkava (Chariot) main battle tank, which can carry five infantrymen; and the highly maneuverable Kfir-C2 fighter-bomber. But Israel also sells increasing quantities of these and other weapons on the world market. At least 750,000 UZIs have gone

Young women pass the evening chatting and sipping soft drinks on a street in Jerusalem

More flexible than their elders, both questioning and speaking out on the issues.

to 40 countries, and last week a new mini-UZI, much smaller but nearly as high-powered, went on public display for the first time. Bolivia, Colombia and Mexico, among others, are considering purchases of the new Kfir-C2. In all, Israel's weapons sales have gone up 40% in the past year, to a total of $1.3 billion.

Advances in weaponry development have been matched by changes in strategy and supply. Sobered by the lessons of 1973, when crucial time was lost in getting units and their armor to the front, the I.D.F. has since concentrated on quick response and mobility. Emergency stores of equipment that were kept in the central sector of the country before 1973 have been moved to the fronts. The amount of armor available at the fronts has also been heavily reinforced. Most important, perhaps, is the development of a new kind of self-sufficient fighting force known as the Ugda. Smaller than an army, larger than a division, the Ugda possesses all of the needs of an independent battle unit: armor, air and intelligence capabilities

Another lesson of the 1973 mechdal ("failure," in Hebrew) has prompted an entirely new strategic assumption. Before the October War of 1973, I.D.F. commanders had depended on their intelligence network to assess Arab threats, then deployed forces accordingly. Now they assume that an attack can come from anywhere—and have forces permanently deployed on all borders. Even the Egyptian front is covered, although more lightly than before the 1979 peace treaty. Dispatching intelligence teams to the frontline units also is part of the attempt to move fast if necessary.

Morale in the I.D.F. is a source of both pride and problems, owing to the fact that Israel demands basic military service from virtually every young person—two years for women, three years for men. Elite volunteer units are more popular with the public than ever before. Young Israelis still yearn to be jet pilots, but they also apply enthusiastically for the paratroopers, naval commando units, and groups like the crack Golani brigade, which has carried out many of the recent raids into Lebanon. Women, once rare in field forces, now work as tank and plane mechanics, serve in artillery and communication units and are sometimes posted to duty as drill sergeants.

The everyday maintenance tasks and other humdrum assignments facing new draftees, however, are not as easy to fill as when the forces were smaller. To help staff the jobs, the I.D.F. has begun to accept young people with criminal records, whom it once rejected. That has served to aggravate a decline in discipline, which bothers army commanders. Israeli troops have always been informal, but at the core they were tough and ready to fight. The new disregard of discipline has prompted the I.D.F. to emphasize symbols of obedience. Signs have gone up on military bases: SOLDIER, IMPROVE YOUR APPEARANCE.

The lightweight UZI submachine gun

If society has contributed to the military's problems, that is because the two are so intimately linked in Israel. One sign of the military's pervading influence always startles foreign visitors. Weapons seem to be everywhere. When two 18-year-old female soldiers turned up for dinner recently at a Jerusalem home, they said, "Shalom," and casually handed their host their two UZI submachine guns. Youngsters learn to use firearms in training camps during high school.

Service in the I.D.F. is still the great integrator of Israeli society, fusing new immigrants and the native-born sabras, future brain surgeons and semiliterate country youths. It is also the required entrance card to the corridors of success. Those who somehow avoid military service are branded as dropouts, stymied in their careers, refused promotions, even shunned in friendship.

Yet service itself can also truncate careers. After their two or three years of basic duty—usually between 18 and 21—some young people report that they are no longer interested in the college education they once planned. The urge to return to study, after such a long break, is totally sapped. Some who have tried say that after a week or two of classes they find their minds drifting and the desire to learn simply gone.

There is an economic price too. After active duty, each Israeli male must serve four to six weeks of reserve duty every year until the age of 55 (unmarried women serve until 34). The obligation, in a nicely egalitarian way, affects everyone, but it exacts a toll. Shops slow down; restaurants stand half-empty as chefs depart; gaps must be filled on assembly lines. As former Chief of Staff Yigael Yadin once put it, "Every Israeli citizen is on eleven months' leave from the army."

Some of Israel's other troubling social problems are simply current manifestations of longstanding tensions, notably the antagonism between Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews and the often violent clashes between Orthodox and more secular Jews. The differences between Ashkenazim and Sephardim are ancient and real. The original Sephardim were the powerful Jews of Moorish Spain, who were expelled from the country in 1492 and dispersed to North Africa, the eastern Mediterranean and Asia. (A smaller, later wave, who had taken temporary refuge in Portugal, later migrated to The Netherlands, Britain and the Americas.)

Ashkenazi Jews, the Europeans who dominated the Zionist movement in the 20th century, originally were a tiny community on the Rhine. The Ashkenazim founded modern political Zionism and brought to Israel Western values, education, technology and tastes. The problem lies in the fact that often they look down on Sephardim, and the Sephardim on them, a phenomenon fed by ethnic differences. Sephardim tend to live in small towns, raise large families, and to eat foods that even now reflect their Spanish heritage. Rice, for example, is permitted during Passover. Ashkenazim tend to make their homes in the city or the kibbutz, and are often lighter in skin, eye color and hair than the Sephardim. The two groups' religious rituals differ markedly.

Recognition of these distinctions is institutionalized in Israel's Chief Rabbinate: one Ashkenazi, one Sephardi. Elevation of certain Sephardim to high positions—President Yitzhak Navon is a Sephardi—represents a triumph of talent over prejudice, even though more than half of Israel's population are Sephardim. Economic inequities mirror the prejudice. Explains Daniel Shimshoni, director of Israel's neighborhood rehabilitation program: "Most of the residents in depressed neighborhoods, or their parents, came from Middle Eastern or African countries. Of the lower income groups, those of Asian and African origin form the majority."

It may be easier to reconcile Israel's

DAVID BUBINGER

Israeli assembly line for the sharpshooting "Merkava" tank

A decline in discipline bothers army commanders.

Ashkenazim and Sephardim than to bridge the chasm between the country's powerful Orthodox Jews and those who hew to more liberal religious views, or simply to secular values. The state is secular, but in personal matters the strict judgments of the Orthodox Rabbinates rule, a hangover from the years when the British, following Ottoman Empire custom, left such powers in the hands of local religious leaders. Thus marriage, divorce, inheritance, adoption—all are under the jurisdiction of the religious, not civil, courts. The 250,000 Orthodox Jews wield a political clout out of proportion to their numbers. Part of that influence is due to the swing-vote power of the National Religious Party. It has been enhanced in recent years by Begin's own sympathy for the traditionalists, which has helped them score new legislative successes.

Shortly after the government called for new elections, the traditionalists won approval of a law sharply restricting the performance of transplants and of autopsies, which, the Orthodox believe, desecrate the dead. On the day after the passage of the autopsy bill, ultra-Orthodox students from Jerusalem's Mea Shea'arim quarter raided a medical school and forcibly halted an autopsy, heavily damaging medical equipment. When the attackers were arrested, their supporters in Mea Shea'arim went on a rampage, burning garbage cans, breaking water mains and assaulting city employees

Jerusalem's administration is taking great pains to appease the Orthodox. Plans for a new and larger municipal stadium have been scrapped because the best site was near an Orthodox community —and its inhabitants abhor Sabbath soccer. A bypass has been built around the Kiryat Zanz district in the northern part of the city to circumvent a longstanding, almost ritual, conflict: violent clashes that erupt almost every Saturday between secular neighborhood bands and militant vigilantes, who are so strictly Orthodox that they do not allow cars to drive on their streets on the Sabbath.

Such religiously motivated vandalism is not so worrisome to Israelis as a newer challenge to the law: organized crime. The infection has spread in the wake of the industrialization and urbanization of the 1960s. It appeals particularly to those who could not fit into a modern, Western-style society. At its core are several Mafia-like family gangs whose ethnic roots are in Yemen and North Africa. Beginning as petty criminals, they are now said to be engaged in counterfeiting, extortion, illegal money transactions, black market operations and even drug smuggling from South America to the U.S.

The organized gangs' operations probably involve no more than a few hundred criminals, including accomplices. But there is a rise of random crime as well. Once, before the state was founded, the late Zionist Poet Chaim Nahman Bialik

The Infighter

Whether Israel's opposition Labor Party succeeds in recapturing power from Menachem Begin's Likud government depends very much on the performance in the next seven weeks of a low-keyed and surprisingly mild-mannered veteran political infighter: Shimon Peres, 57, a longtime political organizer who has been at the heart of the Labor organization for 30 years. Only five months ago, Peres defended his leadership against a challenge by former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, with whom he had feuded bitterly—and publicly—for years. Since then he has spent almost all of his energies trying to repair the resulting damage to party unity and bring its unruly factions under control in time for the election. Peres in some ways seemed at a disadvantage for the formidable task of forging party unity, however, because he is seen by many Israelis as a man of changing loyalties and imprecise convictions.

DAVID RUBINGER

Labor's Peres campaigning in Jerusalem

Born in Poland and raised on a kibbutz, he was appointed director general of the Defense Ministry at age 29 by his political mentor, Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. For the next 13 years, Peres played a major role in organizing Israel's defense forces, building up its formidable arms and aircraft technology and launching its nuclear research program. Today Israel is generally considered to be a nuclear military power.

During those years, however, Peres also made some powerful enemies, whose vindictive animosity has plagued his political career. His arms-buying forays in Europe often edged into diplomacy, irritating then Foreign Minister Golda Meir. As a Knesset member in 1965, Peres helped to found the Rafi faction of Ben-Gurion loyalists that defected from the Labor Party for three years.

The depth and bitterness of the personal and professional rivalry between Peres and Rabin came out in the open in 1974, when Peres challenged Rabin for the job of party chairman after Golda Meir's retirement. Peres lost narrowly, and though Rabin was forced to include him in his Cabinet as Defense Minister, he never forgave Peres for what he considered an act of political sabotage.

Peres has spent the four years as party chairman painstakingly rebuilding the demoralized organizational ranks of Labor after its disastrous defeat by Likud. But his emergence from the bruising, internecine struggles is so recent that he has not yet been able to stamp a decisive leadership image on the party. He is a consensus figure, a perhaps overly pragmatic politician who seems to change his views to suit his audience. Even today, he is still tainted by his one-time defection: his former enemies still do not completely trust him.

Though he can be an outgoing glad-hander of relaxed charm, who willingly puts in six days a week in the political boondocks of Israel listening to ward heelers and party pros, Peres is also a studious, scholarly man who reads voraciously in three languages and writes poetry for intellectual relaxation. His office in the Labor Party's headquarters building on the Tel Aviv waterfront is usually swarming with admirers, foreign visitors and party hacks. Inside, the room is piled high with books in Hebrew and English (prominently including Hedrick Smith's work, *Reagan: The Man, The President*). A color portrait of his patron Ben-Gurion stares down from the wall.

"I don't get much spare time," he told TIME Jerusalem Bureau Chief David Aikman in an interview last week. "But what I like tremendously is the sun, the sea and books. If I can have any combination of the three, I'm the happiest man alive." His view of the political process is also a balance of the activist and the intellectual: "Democracy is a school with endless classes, a permanent education. I know it's extremely difficult, because basically people look at politics for drama, for a kill, a bullfight. I'm not sure my temperament or my conscience is made for that."

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used to say that he dreamed of the day when Jews could live like ordinary people, and "I will see a Jewish thief." In that sorry sense, a Zionist dream has been fulfilled. Armed robbery and burglaries are on the rise: an auto is stolen every ten minutes. Worse, there were 74 murders in the country last year, up from 58 in 1979.

Israel has a growing drug problem, too, though it is a minor disease compared with the plague in many other countries. There are about 6,000 known addicts, and over the last five years 53 Israelis have died from hard drugs, 23 in 1980 alone. Though the government says that only 2% of the country's high school youths have tried hashish, it is taking no chances; it is a crime just to be present at a gathering where drugs are used.

To most Israelis, the crime statistics are less troubling symptoms of social malaise than the emigration figures, which seem to fly in the face of Israel's very purpose. Deputy Prime Minister Simcha Ehrlich somewhat hyperbolically described emigration last December as "the most important national problem." The Zionist goal of "ingathering of the exiles" was for decades complemented by the exiles' dream of *aliya*—"going up" to the homeland. The opposite phenomenon of *yerida*—"going down" to the outside world—was deemed so despicable that those who left were viewed as near traitors. But emigration is now so commonplace that the stigma is fading. Says Hebrew University Freshman Ayala Broide, 22: "For me, it's good in Israel, but there are those who want an easier life. If Israelis want to emigrate and live abroad, I don't see why they shouldn't." Israel's young can be more flexible than their elders on other issues, too, and are both questioning and speaking out on them. Yael Maschler, 22, a mathematics and linguistics major at the university, is sympathetic toward the Palestinian Arabs. Says she: "If they want a state, I can understand that. It is not only I, as a Jew living here, who am right. They should also have something for themselves."

For all the recent ups and downs of the national mood, the public's friendliness toward the U.S. has remained fairly constant. If anything, feelings toward the U.S. have grown warmer of late simply because Reagan is seen by many as being more pro-Israel than Carter was. While no Israeli actually welcomes a situation in which the country is dependent on the U.S. as its major source of economic and military aid, no one would seriously suggest cutting the umbilical cord. "Ideally, of course, we'd like to be free and independent of everybody," shrugs Haim Marantz, 40, a philosophy lecturer at Beersheba's Ben-Gurion University, "but we're not that much worse off than England or Italy in this respect." Part of the reason for the relative ease with which the Israelis accept their dependence on the U.S. is the enduring cultural love affair most Israelis have for everything American. Young sabras still snap up American rock records and jeans, rush to any American movie, and pull every available string to travel to the U.S.

Sociologist Louis Guttman, whose Institute of Applied Social Research has been monitoring Israeli morale since the 1967 war, finds the national mood to be periodically exasperated but basically resilient. In a poll early this year, only 13% of Israelis considered the nation's economic and political position to be good, but fully 76% were certain that they could cope nonetheless. What is striking, according to another social analyst, Rafael Gill, the director of Public Opinion Research of Israel, is the way the public has lost faith in the politicians and the political parties. Gill reports that most Israelis are unconvinced that things would be any better under Shimon Peres than they have been under Menachem Begin.

MARLOW—MAGNUM

Rooftops of Jerusalem sprout an array of television antennae

Surprisingly, the public has lost faith in the politicians.

Labor's Peres nonetheless has been shaping a campaign strategy that calls for a sweeping national redirection. It aims both at an economic turn-around and at a revitalization of Israeli spirit. Peres would begin his attack on inflation by cutting government spending in a significant area: slashing funds for settlements in the occupied Arab territories. He would reduce Israel's bureaucracy by 10% over the next four years. He would call for a voluntary agreement among unions, industry and government to freeze wages, salaries and taxes, but only for a cooling-off period of several months.

Peres' longer-range goal is to renew the country's economic growth. "Inflation is a beginning issue," he declares. "Development is a basic issue." He thus wants to redirect more investment capital into industries that have shown outstanding performance, notably the high-technology electronics and advanced military sectors. He would like to reimpose tight currency restrictions to curtail the flight of money abroad. And, to reignite a sense of purpose in young people, he would ask for legislation to require that all university students combine a half day of study with a half day of manual or social service work. Says Peres of his grand scheme: "We are going to revolutionize the whole administration of the country."

Israeli voters will decide whether they are ready to accept such strong medicine on June 30. The headlong plunge into euphoric consumerism in the past few months suggests that many may have to be convinced that self-sacrifice is still a useful virtue. But considering their dismal economic statistics, they may conclude that it is time to reimpose on themselves a sense of the discipline and purpose that have made the country strong.

Throughout its brief history, Israel has beckoned the sturdy and inspired the strong with the prospect of a great horizon. But in the day-to-day struggle for security, that horizon has remained largely unfocused. Political Scientist Hertzel Fishman, considering this, observes that Israel must now forge "a national character out of its many cultures, political backgrounds and ethnic origins. Israel has a basic instinct for survival. What the country needs is a sense of destiny." Defining that destiny cannot be accomplished on one election day. Nor can greatness for Israel ever be merely a matter of territory. One of the many visions of Israel is the idea, so important in the long centuries of exile, that it is more than anything else a geography of the soul, where the horizon is limitless. Despite its current troubles, Israel certainly has the ability—if only it can summon the will—to make that moral horizon, the Jewish people's timeless strength, the ruling priority once again. *—By Mayo Mohs. Reported by David Aikman and Marlin Levin/ Jerusalem*

FRANCE

Mitterrand: A Socialist Victory

The challenger wins the presidency and charts a risky course

For a majority of the French, the time had come at last for a dramatic change in the nation's long-frozen political landscape. Seven years under patrician, aloof President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing were enough. Twenty-three years of government by the same center-right majority had proved too much. As if they had been dared once too often to take the risk, French voters this week chose Socialist Leader François Mitterrand, 64, an unflappable veteran politician whom many thought a perennial loser, as the fourth President of the Fifth Republic. They thus embarked on the country's boldest venture toward the left since 1936, setting the stage for a risky economic transformation.

It was a bitter defeat for Giscard, who bowed out after 29 years in government, including nine years as Finance Minister, then seven as President. Within a half-hour of the first computer projections showing that Mitterrand had won, Giscard conceded. The margin of victory was larger than had been predicted: 51.7% for Mitterrand, *vs.* 48.3% for Giscard.

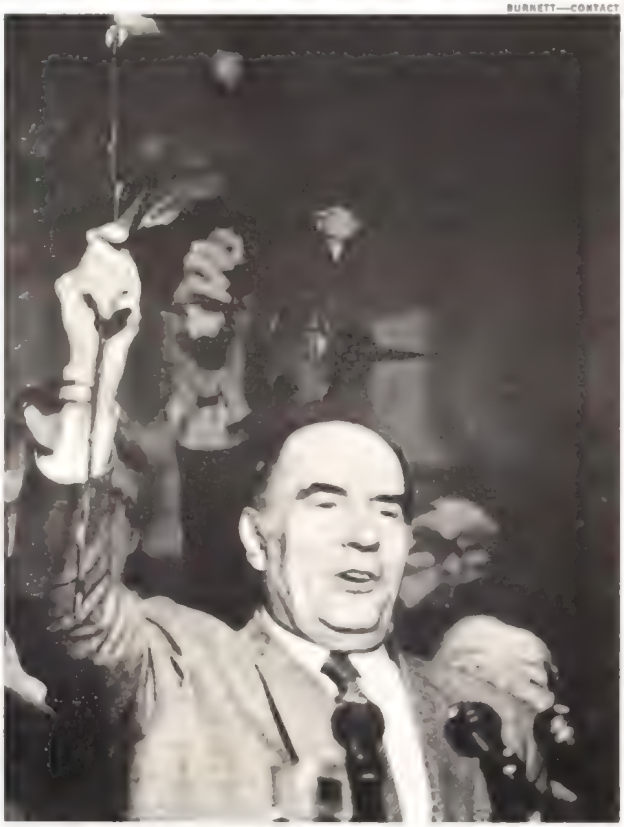
Throughout the closing weeks of the campaign, Giscard had prophesied darkly that since Mitterrand was backed by the Communists, his presidency would bring chaos —and Communists—into government. Giscard was using scare tactics that had worked for the center-right ever since the time of De Gaulle. The presence of a strong Communist Party, representing around 20% of the electorate, had always blocked the left from coming to power under the Fifth Republic. This time, though, Frenchmen no longer seemed as alarmed as in the past by a Communist Party that had polled a humiliatingly low 15.3% in the first round of the presidential voting April 26.

Communist Party Chief Georges Marchais, though visibly shaken by his first-round setback, was hardly resigned to a marginal role under a Mitterrand presidency, however. Indeed, Marchais was quick to show that in urging his disciplined followers to vote for Mitterrand in last week's runoff, he was making less than a genuine fraternal gesture of leftist solidarity. "This is not a blank check," he said and then asked, "Have you ever seen me support anyone for free?" There is little doubt that the wily proletarian leader will soon be knocking at the portals of Elysée Palace to present his bill: Communist ministers in government, and radical economic programs.

To many observers, Mitterrand's own formula for economic reform seems sweeping enough. Blaming Giscard's free-enterprise approach for France's record unemployment of 1.7 million (7.2%), Mitterrand campaigned doggedly on the promise of "another policy." Among other things, it calls for: 1) nationalization of the country's remaining private banks and eleven major industrial enterprises; 2) creation of 1,560,000 jobs, mostly through increased public hiring and a reduction of the work week to 35 hours; and 3) an immediate 25% raise in the minimum wage, to $3.60 an hour. Many French economists view Mitterrand's plan as a recipe for combined inflation, balance of payments deficits and a feeble franc.

But whatever its dangers, there is no guarantee that any of the Socialist programs will win legislative approval. The Socialists now hold only 117 of the 491 seats in the National Assembly, while the Communists have 86. Once Giscard's term ends on May 24, the new President intends to name a Premier and a Cabinet —in effect, an unprecedented transition government that can take limited action without parliamentary approval on social and fiscal matters, and conduct day to day foreign policy. In the long run, though, Mitterrand will need legislative backing, particularly for any major economic and reform measures. He is expected to dissolve parliament later this month and call legislative elections, probably in mid-June, to seek a governing majority.

Mitterrand's central problem is that he owes his election less to an undeniable upsurge of Socialist sentiment than to a powerful anti-Giscard reaction that cut across the political spectrum. Not only did he pick up a substantial portion of the Communist, ecologist and small leftist party votes; Mitterrand also benefited from defections in the ranks of the neo-Gaullist Rally for the Republic (R.P.R.) party that has been a somewhat troublesome member of Giscard's own parliamentary majority. Under the ebullient leadership of Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac, 48, who made a strong 18% showing in the first round, the party clearly showed that it no longer identified its own interests with those of Giscard. Chirac urged his first-round supporters to think about "the risk that Mr Mitterrand's election would pose for France." But some R.P.R. tacticians coldly calculated that they might gain more from leading the opposition under a Mitterrand presidency than continuing as junior partners to Giscard.



BURNETT—CONTACT

Mitterrand triumphantly brandishes a rose, symbol of the Socialist Party

Twenty-three years of a center-right majority had proved too much.

The high point of the campaign came after Giscard challenged his opponent to a face-to-face debate on national television. Watched by some 30 million viewers last week, the 130-minute duel was restrained and evenly matched, although there were several sharp exchanges. Giscard bored in on the ambiguities in Mitterrand's positions, especially the Socialist leader's relations with the Communists. "You must show your colors," Giscard said, wagging his finger sternly. The challenger, for his part, blasted away at Giscard's record on unemployment. "One cannot believe you any more," said Mitterrand. "Now 1.7 million are unemployed. There will be 2.5 million by 1985 if your policies are continued." Unlike their 1974 debate, in which Giscard overpowered the Socialist

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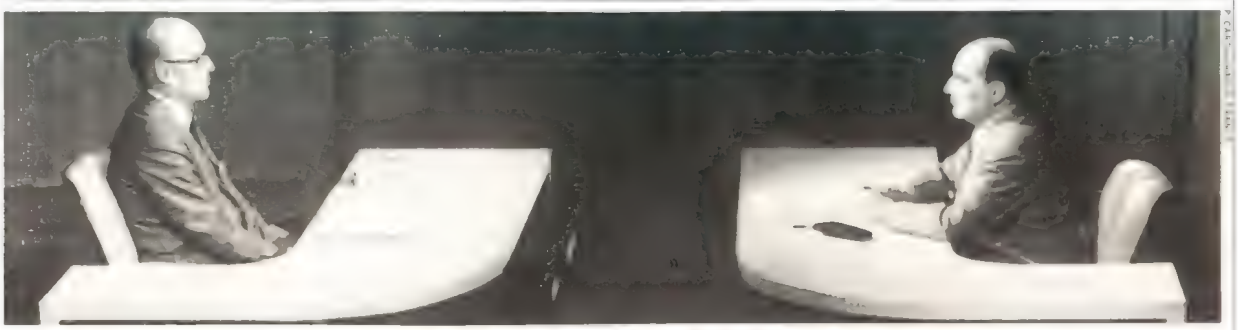

Adversaries in a restrained and evenly matched contest: Giscard and challenger during last week's televised debate

leader, last week's encounter did not appear to have been decisive in swinging the vote

The new President was born in 1916 in the small southwestern town of Jarnac, in the Cognac region. His active political career began with World War II. Shot in the chest and captured near Verdun, he escaped from a German prison camp and joined the Resistance as an organizer of former P.O.W.s. Shortly after the war, Mitterrand was elected to the National Assembly as a candidate for the Democratic and Socialist Union of the Resistance, a small but pivotal center party that won a surprising number of Cabinet posts under the Fourth Republic Over a 13-year period, Mitterrand held eight Cabinet posts—and earned a reputation as a political chameleon. It was De Gaulle's return to power in 1958 that finally cast Mitterrand into the leftist camp. He denounced the creation of the Fifth Republic as a "power play" aimed at fracturing the left opposition. Ever since, Mitterrand has striven for a broad reunified left, a goal that eludes him even now in his hour of victory

For all of his years on the hustings, Mitterrand's personal passion is not politics but literature. The new President spends hours reading or writing (he has authored ten books on politics) in the library of the town house in Paris' Left Bank where he lives with his wife of 36 years, Danielle. They have two grown sons. In place of Giscard's technocratic competence, Mitterrand offers a romantic if hazy vision of a more humane and just French society. "I don't calculate," says Mitterrand. "I feel."

One of his instincts has convinced him of the need to decentralize the French government. Borrowing an idea from fellow Socialist Michel Rocard, he proposes to replace the Paris-appointed prefects who preside over the nation's 96 *départements* with locally elected officials. The aim: to put government back in the hands of the people. Mitterrand will also push for greater worker participation in the management of companies

But for all Mitterrand's talk of decentralization, his economic policies seem to promise instead a significant expansion of government. His employment plan, for example, would create a minimum of 210,000 state-financed jobs over the next year at an estimated cost of $2.2 billion Another 950,000 work places would be created over the next three years by reducing the work week to 35 hours, while retirement age would be reduced to 60 for men, 55 for women

Mitterrand's nationalization plans have not caused nearly as much dismay in business circles as his talk of restructuring France's current trade patterns, reports TIME Correspondent William Blaylock. The new President proposes, for example, to protect French industries and reduce imports by reinforcing trade restrictions against Japan. That could ultimately disrupt relations with France's other traditional trading partners and even jeopardize its commitment to the European Community.

Under Mitterrand, France's role in the world will probably change less than economic policy at home—although his vagueness on foreign affairs makes it difficult to foresee his ultimate course. For example, he has called for a "redefinition" of NATO members' obligations; at the same time, his reluctance to modernize French nuclear weapons implies a greater dependence on NATO's protection. During the campaign, Mitterrand effectively attacked Giscard for his weak responses to the Soviet arms buildup in Europe and the invasion of Afghanistan. Yet the Socialist leader never explained clearly what it was he would have done differently. As for relations with the U.S., chillier days may be ahead, if only because of the ideological chasm between Paris' new leftist government and the conservative Reagan Administration

Mitterrand's habitual vagueness has been tied to a long-standing political strategy that sought to appeal to the broadest possible range of supporters Twice in the past seven years, the left under Mitterrand's leadership has come breathlessly close to power, only to lose elections at the last minute as French voters flinched at the specter of Socialists and Communists sharing power. The years of tactical hedging are over. For Mitterrand, the presidency is a liberation. Only now will France, and the rest of the world, learn what kind of leadership the voters have chosen in their quest for change. *—By Frederick Painton. Reported by Sandra Burton and Henry Muller/Paris*

The victorious candidate feeding donkeys at his farm near Vieux-Boucau-les-Bains in southwestern France

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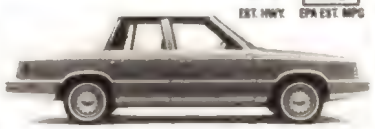
DODGE ARIES K SEDAN
PLYMOUTH RELIANT K SEDAN
41 EST. HWY. 25** EPA EST. MPG



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DODGE 024 MISER
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Standard features: 4-cylinder 1.7-liter OHC engine • Electronic fuel control system • Rack-and-pinion steering • Front disc and rear drum brakes • Radial tires • Fold-down rear seat (liftback utility)

	EST HWY	EPA EST MPG**	PASSENGER ROOM	TYPE OF DRIVE	BASE STICKER PRICES†	MORE THAN CHRYSLER CORPORATION
DODGE ARIES K WAGON PLYMOUTH RELIANT K WAGON	40	24	6	FRONT	$6,854	
OLDSMOBILE CUTLASS CRUISER WAGON	30	21	6	REAR	$7,952	+ $1,098
CHEVROLET MALIBU WAGON	28	20	6	REAR	$7,030	+ $ 176
PONTIAC LEMANS SAFARI WAGON	30	21	6	REAR	$7,725	+ $ 871
TOYOTA CORONA DELUXE WAGON	37	25	5	REAR	$7,099	+ $ 245
BUICK CENTURY ESTATE WAGON	30	21	6	REAR	$7,924	+ $1,070
DODGE ARIES K SEDAN PLYMOUTH RELIANT K SEDAN	41	25	6	FRONT	$6,131	
CHEVROLET CITATION 4-DR HBK	35	22	5	FRONT	$6,523	+ $ 392
FORD FAIRMONT 4-DR SEDAN	34	23	5/6	REAR	$6,210	+ $ 79
PONTIAC PHOENIX 4-DR HBK	35	22	5	FRONT	$6,732	+ $ 601
OLDSMOBILE CUTLASS 4-DR SEDAN	30	21	6	REAR	$7,833	+ $1,702
BUICK SKYLARK 4-DR SEDAN	35	22	5	FRONT	$6,994	+ $ 863
DODGE ARIES K COUPE PLYMOUTH RELIANT K COUPE	41	25	6	FRONT	$5,995	
CHEVROLET CITATION 2-DR HBK	35	22	5	FRONT	$6,386	+ $ 391
OLDSMOBILE OMEGA 2-DR COUPE	35	22	5	FRONT	$6,598	+ $ 603
BUICK SKYLARK 2-DR COUPE	35	22	5	FRONT	$6,844	+ $ 849
FORD FAIRMONT 2-DR SEDAN	34	23	5/6	REAR	$6,091	+ $ 96
PONTIAC PHOENIX 2-DR COUPE	35	22	5	FRONT	$6,536	+ $ 541
DODGE 024 MISER PLYMOUTH TC3 MISER	50	30	5	FRONT	$5,499	
DATSUN 200SX 2-DR HBK	39	26	4	REAR	$7,589	+ $2,090
FORD MUSTANG 3-DR HBK	34	23	4	REAR	$6,566	+ $1,067
FORD EXP SPORT COUPE	46	29	2	FRONT	$7,253	+ $1,754
VW RABBIT L 2-DR HBK–GAS ENGINE	42	28	4	FRONT	$6,310	+ $ 811
TOYOTA COROLLA 2-DR SEDAN DLX	39	28	4	REAR	$5,688	+ $ 189
DODGE OMNI MISER PLYMOUTH HORIZON MISER	50	30	5	FRONT	$5,499	
FORD ESCORT 4-DR LIFTGATE	42	27	4	FRONT	$5,729	+ $ 230
VW RABBIT L 4-DR HBK–GAS ENGINE	42	28	4	FRONT	$6,520	+ $1,021
TOYOTA COROLLA DELUXE 4-DR SEDAN	39	28	4	REAR	$5,808	+ $ 309
MAZDA GLC 5-DR. CUSTOM HBK	35	45	4	FRONT	$5,795	+ $ 296
HONDA CIVIC 4-DR SEDAN	34	44	4	FRONT	$6,499	+ $1,000

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NORTHERN IRELAND

Shadow Of a Gunman

Sands starves to death, and others vow to follow

As British army helicopters clattered anxiously overhead, some 50,000 Northern Irish Catholics lined the streets of Belfast last week for an emotional ceremony that was part funeral, part political demonstration. A lone piper led the way as thousands of mourners followed a Daimler hearse bearing a coffin draped in the green, white and orange flag of the Irish Republic. Beside the hearse strode seven hooded members of the outlawed Irish Republican Army, dressed in mottled green combat jackets and berets.

At Andersonstown Road, in the heart of a Catholic section, the cortege stopped, and the coffin was removed from the hearse. Three more I.R.A. men suddenly appeared with rifles and fired into the air the traditional three volleys of honor and mourning. The procession, discreetly shepherded by police and British troops, moved past Protestant strongholds, where tall screens were erected to prevent even

Hooded I.R.A. members carry the coffin to the graveside in Milltown Cemetery, Belfast

Youth gang in Belfast overturns a truck during rioting that followed the announcement of the death in Maze Prison

The specter of more terror to come and growing intransigence on both sides: "If we're not careful, we're going to end up like Lebanon."

eye contact between the rival sectarian groups.

Finally, at the Milltown Cemetery, the coffin was carried to a special area studded with the graves of more than 200 I.R.A. faithful. Republican Leader Gerry Adams declared: "We will bury our dead with the dignity denied them while living." He added, "The ordinary people of Ireland have turned out to show their solidarity with Bobby Sands. They know that [his] death didn't have to happen."

True enough. But death had come at last to convicted I.R.A. Terrorist and Hunger Striker Robert (Bobby) Gerard Sands, 27, by virtue of his own will. His earthly remains were little more than a husk after a 66-day fast in the H-block section of Northern Ireland's Maze Prison. He was the first I.R.A. member to starve himself to death since 1976, the 13th Irish Nationalist to do so in this century. Sands had failed in his main aim: to force the British government to grant special political status to himself and 700 other I.R.A. members imprisoned in the Maze. But he had managed to fan Republican passions—and street violence—to levels unseen in the North in nearly a decade. His death raised the specter of more terror to come and tightened the tension between those implacable opponents, the I.R.A. and the British government.

The news of Sands' death was announced in the British Parliament, as it had to be, since the I.R.A. rebel became a member in a stunning by-election victory on April 9. But Speaker of the House George Thomas omitted the usual expressions of bereavement and extended no sympathy to the relatives. That break with tradition matched the tough mood of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who had refused to move an inch in the face of Sands' demands. Said Thatcher crisply: "Mr. Sands was a convicted criminal. He chose to take his own life. It was a choice his organization did not allow many of their victims."

The Prime Minister's sentiments had the full backing of Opposition Leader Michael Foot, who said that government concessions would give "sure aid to the recruitment of terrorists." Within hours of the funeral, Home Secretary William Whitelaw announced the government's other response: the intent to plug a legal loophole that had allowed Sands, a convicted felon, to stand for Parliament. Westminster wanted no repetition of the I.R.A.'s ploy when yet another by-election is called in Northern Ireland's turbulent Fermanagh and South Tyrone constituency.

Sands' fatal hunger strike now appears to be only the prelude to a sustained movement by other Maze prisoners. Three I.R.A. members joined Sands in the three weeks after he had begun to fast on March 1, and one, Francis Hughes, 25, was reported to be sinking quickly. After Sands' death, other I.R.A. prisoners announced that they would take the place of any hunger striker who died. But the British had no intention of giving way, even if, as a spokesman at 10 Downing Street harshly put it, "they drop like flies."

The prospect of a sustained war of attrition hardly boded well for the scarred, sad urban ghettos of Belfast, Londonderry and other Northern centers. As the clanging of garbage can lids announced the news of Sands' death, gangs of Catholic youths once again rampaged through the streets, despite calls from the I.R.A. itself for calm as the organization prepared its martyr's farewell. Cars and other vehicles were overturned and burned as impromptu barricades. As they had in previous weeks, plumes of smoke from Molotov cocktails hung over Belfast. One youngster blew himself up as he tried to plant a crudely made bomb in that city; a Belfast policeman was shot to death. Another youth died during a riot-caused auto crash. The violence spread to the Irish Republic, where a Dublin gang ran amuck along fashionable Dawson Street, hurling rocks and debris through shop windows. Heavy police protection was given to scores of British Members of Parliament.

BILL PIERCE

Treating a Belfast street like a jungle trail, an army patrol warily advances

Sands' death also managed to cast a shadow abroad. The state legislatures of New Jersey and Massachusetts passed resolutions deploring Sands' death. The 110,000-member International Longshoremen's Association, which mans the docks along the U.S. East and Gulf coasts, announced a one-day boycott of ships flying the Union Jack (only three vessels were believed to be affected). Of more serious consequence was the high probability that Republican sympathizers in the U.S. were once again passing the hat for the I.R.A., renewing the flow of arms-buying money estimated as high as $3 million annually

Yet despite fears of an immediate bout of terrorism in retaliation for Sands' death, the I.R.A last week bided its time. It might have reason to avoid testing its strength openly—and risking a defeat. For example, an I.R.A. attempt to coerce Irish Republic shopkeepers into closing down for a national day of mourning for Sands ended as a dismal failure

The other force that also held itself in check in Northern Ireland was the province's Protestant majority ("the sleeping monster," as one senior British army of-

BILL PIERCE

Demonstrators raining stones on army and police vehicles

No change in British policy, even if "they drop like flies."

ficer called it) that outnumbers Catholics 2 to 1. On the day of Sands' funeral, Protestant Leader Ian Paisley held another memorial service, outside Belfast city hall, to commemorate the many victims of I.R.A. terrorism. Nonetheless, said Paisley: "Protestants will not react so long as the police and the army are controlling the situation in Catholic areas, and so far they have been doing that satisfactorily."

Even if wholesale sectarian violence is kept at bay, Sands' death and the continuing hunger strikes could create serious political hazards in the weeks ahead. Particularly threatened is Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey. Last December, he and Thatcher agreed to a series of consultations on the whole spectrum of Irish-British relations, an understanding that Haughey had hoped to exploit in an upcoming general election as a small step toward Irish unification. Now Haughey clearly has been weakened by the reaction to Sands' death. He has prudently decided to delay the upcoming election date, originally expected for this month, until at least June 10. But the approaching crisis with Hunger Striker Hughes could upset Haughey's strategy again.

Still to be determined is the full effect of Sands' death on Northern Ireland's Catholics, although it has clearly been huge, to judge by the funeral turnout. Says one expert on Northern Irish politics: "Never since 1969 has the Catholic community been so anti-British." Says a moderate Protestant: "Before, it was only the simple, unlettered people as a rule who backed the extremists. Now you're getting intelligent young Catholics who are really committed, and the same thing is happening among the Protestants. If we're not careful, we're going to wind up like Lebanon."

That comparison is far too extreme, but moderates on both sides feel that the British must find some way of heading off a string of hunger-strike deaths. John Hume, a respected Catholic leader of Northern Ireland's Social Democratic and Labor Party, feels that the British could work out a compromise on the political prisoner issue, allowing inmates some freedom of association and to wear clothing they could claim as their own.

But the mood in London is, if anything, surprisingly confident that nothing worse will happen. One senior Whitehall official repeated the government's refusal to compromise with the prisoners or to propose any solutions to the deeper problems in the near term. The situation was, he said, evoking centuries of bitterness, "a classic Irish tragedy from which at the moment there seems no escape." The desperate death of Bobby Sands appears to be the start of a new chapter in just such a prolonged and dangerous tragedy. —*By George Russell. Reported by Erik Amfitheatrof/Belfast and Bonnie Angelo/London*

ITALY

Crusader Under Attack

The Pontiff's campaign against abortion spills into politics

Pope John Paul II has repeatedly exhorted Roman Catholic clergymen to hold themselves above the run of politics, and he himself, unlike some of his predecessors, has shown little interest in Italian affairs of state. But the Pontiff's pastoral responsibilities to speak out on an issue of deep moral concern to the church have plunged him, inevitably, into a heated political controversy over the most volatile social issue in Italy: whether or not women should have the legal right to have an abortion.

The uproar is over the future of Italy's controversial abortion law passed in 1978. The measure allows women over 18 to have an abortion at state expense in the first 90 days of pregnancy. Some 200,000 legal operations now take place annually in specially designated, state-run hospitals. But because of intense church opposition, many of the approved clinics do not perform the operations. Health officials estimate that as many as 600,000 of Italy's abortions are still done illegally. The grim cost: some 2,000 to 5,000 deaths per year.

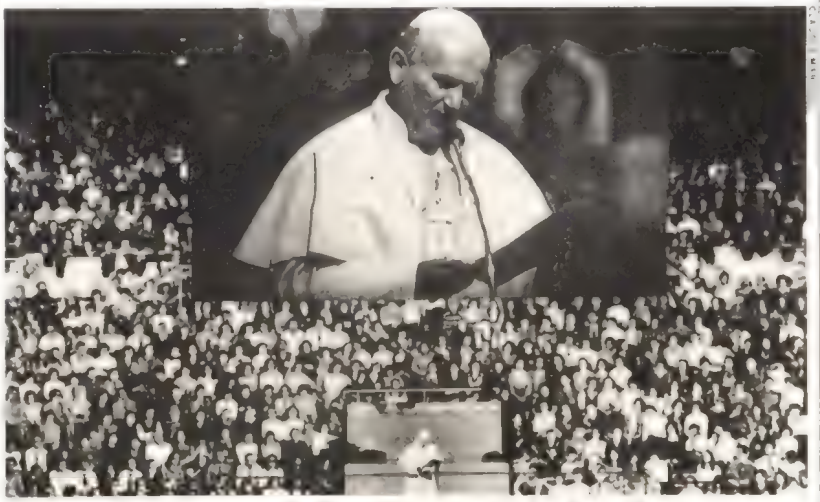
No one seems pleased with the present law. Conservatives have put a referendum on the May 17 ballot that would allow abortions only for therapeutic reasons. In turn, liberals are backing a rival measure that would ease some of the restrictions in the current law and allow private clinics to perform the operations.

Ever since the plebiscite was scheduled last November, the Pontiff has repeatedly attacked abortion. On Easter, speaking to 250,000 people in St. Peter's Square, he emphasized his opposition to the practice. He spoke out again a week later during a visit to the Sotto il Monte birthplace of Pope John XXIII. Reaffirming a church statement calling for abortion laws "to be overcome with all legitimate means," he repeated his view that "procured abortion is the killing of an innocent creature. No one can have an attitude of pliant consent or passivity in the face of abortion."

The Pope's voluble remonstrances on the issue (though he has been careful not to refer to the referendums themselves) have incited a wave of criticism from pro-choice advocates. Bettino Craxi, head of the Italian Socialist Party, charges that John Paul is leading a "revival of intolerance, improper interference and excessive zeal on the part of the Roman Catholic Church over the abortion issue."

Papal zeal has also created acute embarrassment among the Catholic politicians in Italy's fragile ruling coalition, led by the Christian Democrats. They had encouraged a low key, nondivisive approach to the issue in the hope of diminishing the political fallout. But the Pope's supporters maintain that it would be unthinkable for John Paul not to speak his mind on abortion in a country that is 95% Roman Catholic. Asks Giulio Andreotti, a sympathetic Christian Democrat and former Prime Minister: "How can one ask the Pope to be silent when one of the most delicate points of moral theology is at stake?"

With the Pope speaking so effectively, Italy's pollsters are cautiously predicting that the referendum to tighten the abortion law will win. A recent survey, commissioned by the Milan weekly *Panorama*, indicated that 60% of Italian voters—and 63% of the women—would approve the restricting referendum. ■



His image projected on a screen, the Pope addresses pro-family rally near Rome

Faced with such a moral problem, he argues, "no one can have an attitude of passivity."

Rescuers extricating victims from bombed car in which three died

Valenzuela

SPAIN

New Terrorism

Fanning political unrest

Two men on a motorcycle toss a bomb at an army staff car and speed away through the streets of Madrid: three people are killed in the blast, and a fourth, Lieut. General Joaquín Valenzuela, head of King Juan Carlos' personal guard, is badly wounded. Another high-ranking officer, General Andrés González de Suso, is gunned down at pointblank range outside his apartment in the capital, and a policeman dies in the ensuing chase. Almost simultaneously, two Civil Guards are murdered by terrorists in a Barcelona bar. The final toll: seven dead and 14 injured, most of them innocent bystanders.

Thus did political violence return to Spain last week at a critical moment for the country's beleaguered young democracy. Ever since an abortive military coup last February, the army and the government have coexisted in an uneasy truce. Last week's attacks clearly seemed to be aimed at undermining that shaky stability. The targets were exclusively militarymen and police officers, and their funerals attracted hundreds of right-wing demonstrators who angrily denounced the government and called for the army to seize power.

The government said that the bombing of Valenzuela's staff car was carried out by members of ETA, the Basque separatist organization responsible for most of the political terrorism in Spain. ETA confirmed it had carried out the attack. The other two incidents were suspected to mark the re-emergence of the October 1 Antifascist Resistance Group (GRAPO), a mysterious organization described by the authorities as ultraleftist, that has surfaced sporadically in recent years. In the gun battle that followed González de Suso's assassination, police wounded and captured Emilio Gomez Gomez, 28, allegedly a member of GRAPO. One of the two assailants in the Barcelona killings reportedly was among five GRAPO militants who staged a spectacular escape from a maximum-security prison in Zamora 17 months ago.

But the allegations raised a number of questions about GRAPO and the real perpetrators of last week's attacks—given the country's complex and conspiratorial politics. For one thing, González de Suso is a political liberal and hence an unlikely target for a leftist group. GRAPO, skeptics noted, has materialized at other critical moments in Spain's political life, each time to carry out operations that might easily, in truth, have been the work of right-wing hit squads. At the very least, the Madrid daily *Diario 16* headlined, GRAPO was a leftist name with fascist objectives.

Madrid abounded in conspiracy theories even before the latest killings, thanks to some disclosures of testimony in the investigation of Lieut. Colonel Antonio Tejero Molina, one of the leaders of the failed military putsch. In the "Tejero papers," the imprisoned officer tried to implicate Juan Carlos himself in the plot, as well as a number of high-ranking army officers, even though the King repudiated the plotters and almost singlehandedly prevented a takeover. Juan Carlos has denied the charge, but most political analysts agree that the leaked testimony will put additional pressure on Prime Minister Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo to avoid a full-dress court martial of Tejero. Such an exercise would almost certainly embarrass the throne, infuriate the army and possibly precipitate another coup.

Calvo-Sotelo discounted the prospects of a second attempt to seize power. But right-wing demonstrators were marching through Madrid loudly chanting the name of their latest hero: "Te-je-ro! Te-je-ro!" ■

EL SALVADOR

Wayward Cleric

A "vanished" priest turns up

Back home in Chicago, he was known as a political activist who strongly opposed the U.S. involvement in El Salvador. Deciding to investigate the situation on his own, he became an interpreter for a Chicago television crew—he was fluent in Spanish—and arrived in San Salvador three weeks ago. Then, after attending Mass on Sunday, Father Roy Bourgeois, 42, a Maryknoll priest, simply vanished. The initial assumption was that he had become yet another victim of the country's endemic political terrorism. "I'm as certain as I can be that he didn't disappear of his own free will," said his superior, Father James Noonan, when he arrived to look into the case.

Noonan, like everyone else, was wrong. Bourgeois was traveling around the country, walking, riding in buses, sleeping on the ground, talking endlessly with the peasants he hoped to redeem. He had planned to spend two months in the countryside, but he abandoned his journey after only eleven days when he and some companions found themselves facing a large army column in guerrilla-dominated Morazán province. A few days later, tired and dirty, Bourgeois walked into the U.S. embassy in San Salvador.

TIME has learned that the El Salvador government issued an order for Bourgeois's arrest for "subversion" and that the U.S. embassy was able to hustle him out of the country only after getting the reluctant support of José Napoleón Duarte, head of the ruling junta. Arriving in New York, Bourgeois said the object of his trip had been "to walk among the poor and to join their struggle for justice and peace." If the military and the right-wing death squads need any excuse for further harassing church workers in El Salvador, Bourgeois may have given them a ready-made rationale.

Bourgeois

At week's end, the Salvadoran government confirmed reports that it had arrested six men, probably National Guardsmen, two weeks ago for the December murders of four women missionaries, including two Maryknoll nuns. The soldiers were not identified, but Salvadoran officials said the U.S. embassy knows the names. The arrests were said to have followed a telephone call from Secretary of State Alexander Haig to President Duarte demanding action. Six National Guard rifles were sent last week from El Salvador to FBI headquarters in Washington for ballistics tests. The bullets will be compared with a number taken from the scene of the murders. ■

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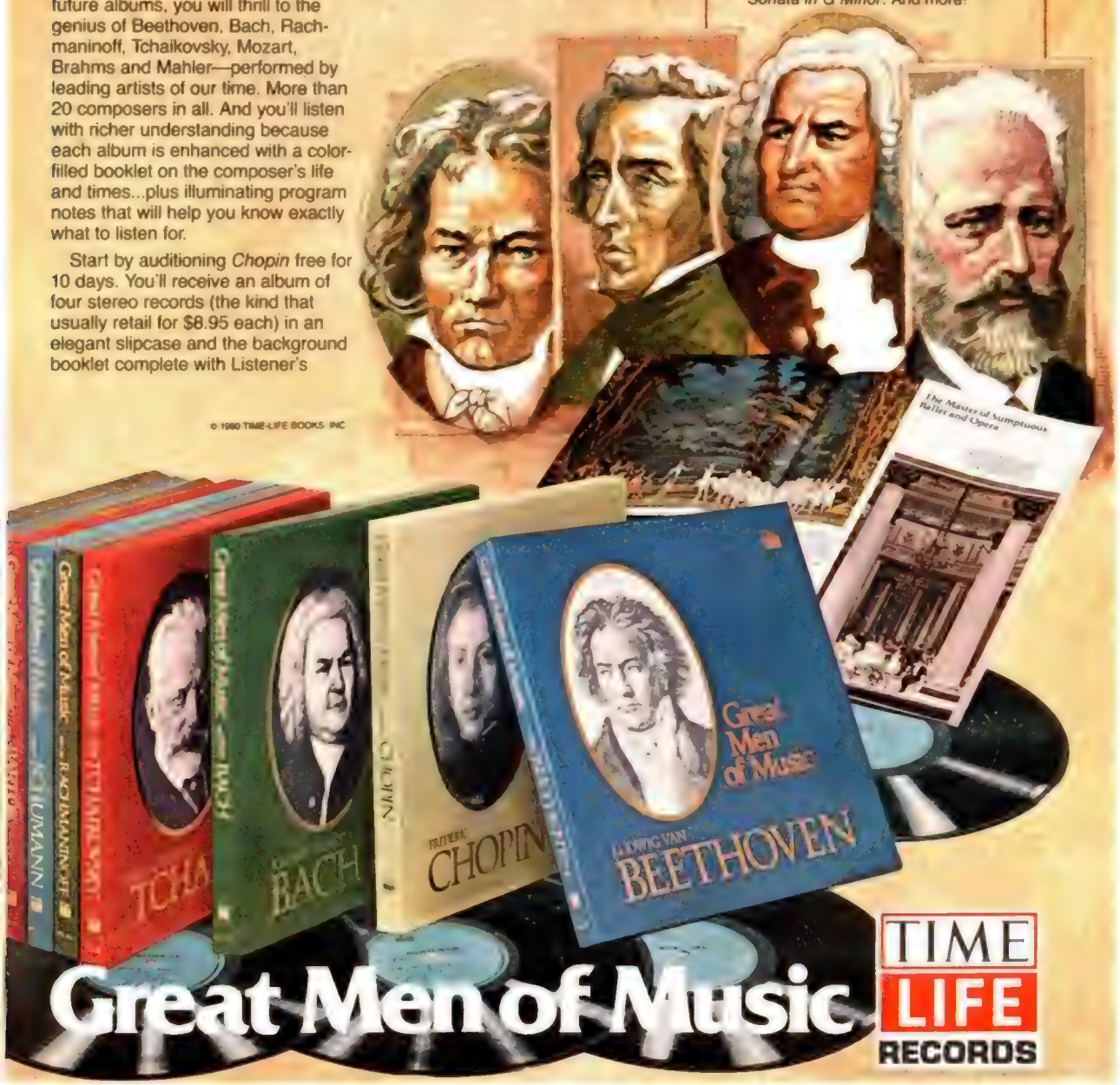

Great Men of Music

TIME LIFE RECORDS

CHICAGO
In Illinois Center
overlooking Michigan Avenue
and the Chicago River.

COLUMBUS
Downtown at Ohio Center,
near State Capitol,
Ohio State University.

KANSAS CITY
At Crown Center.
Hyatt has health club,
tennis courts, pool.

KNOXVILLE
Hyatt Regency at
the Civic Coliseum looks
over the Tennessee River.

PITTSBURGH
Downtown, walk to
corporate headquarters,
Convention Center, Civic Arena.

arise

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Tonight, do the town up right with these six refreshingly different cocktails.

Then write us for our free recipe book, *What to Make of Midori.* And keep it handy when the sun goes down.

Midori Rocks
Pour Midori over ice, add a squeeze of lime.

Midori Daiquiri
1 oz. Midori
½ oz. White Rum
1 oz. Sweet & Sour Mix. Blend and pour.

Midori Sour 1 oz. Midori
2 oz. Sweet & Sour Mix
Blend and strain.

Midori Colada
2 oz. Midori
1 oz. Rum, 6 oz. Piña Colada Mix
Mix in blender.

Midori Cooler
1 oz. Midori
2 oz. Club Soda
Pour Midori into tall glass filled with ice. Add soda and stir.

Melonball
2 oz. Midori
1 oz. Banzai Vodka
Orange Juice
In a tall glass, add Midori and Vodka over ice. Fill glass with orange juice and stir.

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People

Berger horses with Ellatross

In her back-to-campus blue blazer with white piping, **Ellen Futter** could pass for a senior psych major at most Ivy League schools. But professors at New York City's Barnard College better not treat her like one. Last week Futter, 31, a graduate of the women's college and Columbia Law School, was named president of Barnard, Columbia's sister school. She thus becomes the youngest woman head of a major U.S. college. Actually, she has been acting president while on leave from a New York City law firm. Futter's no-nonsense managerial style and success in raising money won high marks from Barnard's 2,500 students and board of trustees, but at her own request, the committee searching for a permanent president did not consider her until it had reviewed 159 other candidates.

■

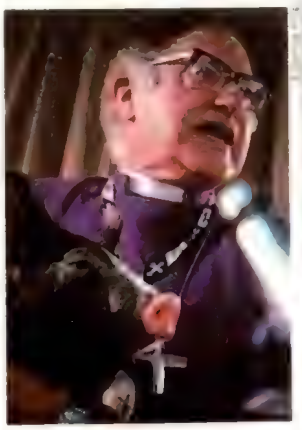
Mon Dieu, the news was enough to send any self-respecting member of Parisian café society lunging for the bicarbonate of soda. Maxim's, the world-renowned, gastronomic masterpiece on the city's tony Rue Royale, was sold last week. The new proprietor: Fashion Designer **Pierre Cardin.** The $20 million tab was steep even for Cardin, 58, who lately seems more interested in *haute* finance than *haute couture*. He has had designs on the art nouveau establishment since 1978, when Maxim's present owners, **Louis** and **Maggie Vaudable,** agreed to lend the eatery's venerable name to a Cardin-owned line of boutiques and consumer products. The French designer now hopes to squeeze even more profits out of the name by launching a chain of mini-Maxim's boutiques in the U.S. and Japan.

■

Visiting a Midwestern hog farm last week on a three-week U.S. tour, the Archbishop of Canterbury, **Robert Runcie,** groaned with gratitude. "I have received so many gifts," said he, "I may have to open an Iowa room when I get back to Lambeth Palace in London." Runcie, 59, certainly had his hands full with the 40-lb. Berkshire maiden who seemed intent on hogging the spotlight. The gift was nothing to snoot at—as a gentleman farmer back home, Runcie oversees 60 prize Berkshires of his own. The latest addition to the Archbishop's porcine parish listened beatifically as Runcie gushed, "I love my pigs." She perked a wary swine's ear, however, when the Archbishop added, "but I don't mind eating them."

■

"I feel blessed," grins **Elsie Berger**, 72, at being named the first Horsewoman of the Year by *Horseman and Fair World* magazine. She was certainly a long shot, for men had won the honor the previous 24 years. Starting with little more than a dream—a mare named Niagara Dream, to be exact—Berger turned a mom-and-pop stable into a racing powerhouse. Her ticket to the winner's circle was Niatross, a strapping bay regarded as the swiftest standard-bred in the history of the sport. In two years, he took top laurels on 37 of 39 trips to the post, earned $2 million and became the sixth horse to win pacing's Triple Crown. Now that Niatross has hung up his harness for a life on the stud circuit, his sisters, Ellatross and Rosarium, have moved into the fast lane. Berger, who occasionally brandishes a stogie at the race track for Runyonesque effect, turns matronly when talking about the two: she calls them her "girls."



Runcie hams with scene hogger

■

For **Father Guido Sarducci,** the fictional rock critic and gossip columnist for the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano*, the trip to Rome should have been something of a pilgrimage. But for Actor **Don Novello,** 38, who created Sarducci and often played him on TV's *Saturday Night Live*, the visit was less than heavenly. Decked out in priestly threads for a photo story for *Attenzione*, a magazine for Italian Americans published in New York City, Novello ventured past the Vatican walls for a shot outside *L'Osservatore's* offices. Swiss Guards soon collared the comic cleric and charged him with impersonating a padre. Not until nightfall did police finally absolve Novello and two *Attenzione* freelancers of their sin and turn them loose. Shrugs Novello: "I hope they have a better sense of humor in Saudi Arabia, where I plan to pose in the Great Mosque at Mecca."

—By E. Graydon Carter

Sartorially splendid Sarducci before being collared

Futter warms to almamatters

On the Record

Alan Cartnal, author and former newspaperman, discussing *California Crazy*, his book about life in Los Angeles: "Of course I'm a trashy writer. But consider the territory."

Jody Powell, 37, former White House press secretary, on why fired HEW Secretary **Joseph Califano** blasts ex-President **Jimmy Carter** in his upcoming political memoirs: "Hell hath no fury like a fat cat Washington lawyer scorned."

Plymouth Reliant K Wagon
as shown $7,681†

Plymouth Reliant K Wagon. Chrysler engineers America's highest mileage 6-passenger wagon—40 24 mpg.* And achieves new standards of performance and quality.

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**May be deleted for credit or factory order. †Sticker price excluding taxes and destination charges. ††These options may require the purchase of additional optional equipment.

Sky-High Interest Rates

Reaganomics and rapid money growth give Wall Street the jitters

Already orbiting at altitudes unimaginable a few short years ago, interest rates moved even higher last week and threatened to shoot the moon. The commercial bank prime lending rate rose to 19%, not far below the record 21.5% set in December. Rates for other financial instruments such as six-month Treasury bills were near record highs. By almost any measure, the cost of money, the lubricant for the U.S. economic engine, was high and heading higher.

There was no mystery about the sharp rises, at least in hindsight. Sensing that the U.S. economy is fundamentally strong and in no danger of recession, businessmen and consumers have stepped up short-term borrowing. Consumer credit in March increased by $3.1 billion to $310.8 billion, and bank loans to businesses rose in April by $1.9 billion to $170.1 billion.

But when the Federal Reserve published figures reflecting that increased loan demand and money growth, American financiers reacted nervously. The report showed that the most important measure of the money supply, which is called M1B and includes money in circulation, checking accounts and checklike NOW deposits at thrift institutions, had grown by a stunning $4.2 billion to $431 billion in the third week of April.

Economists, who had been seeing signs of a slowdown in March and April after a strong January and February, had been predicting money supply declines for over a month as credit demand slackened. When this did not happen, it stirred momentary fears that the Federal Reserve had lost control of the nation's currency and that more inflation and higher interest rates were on the way.

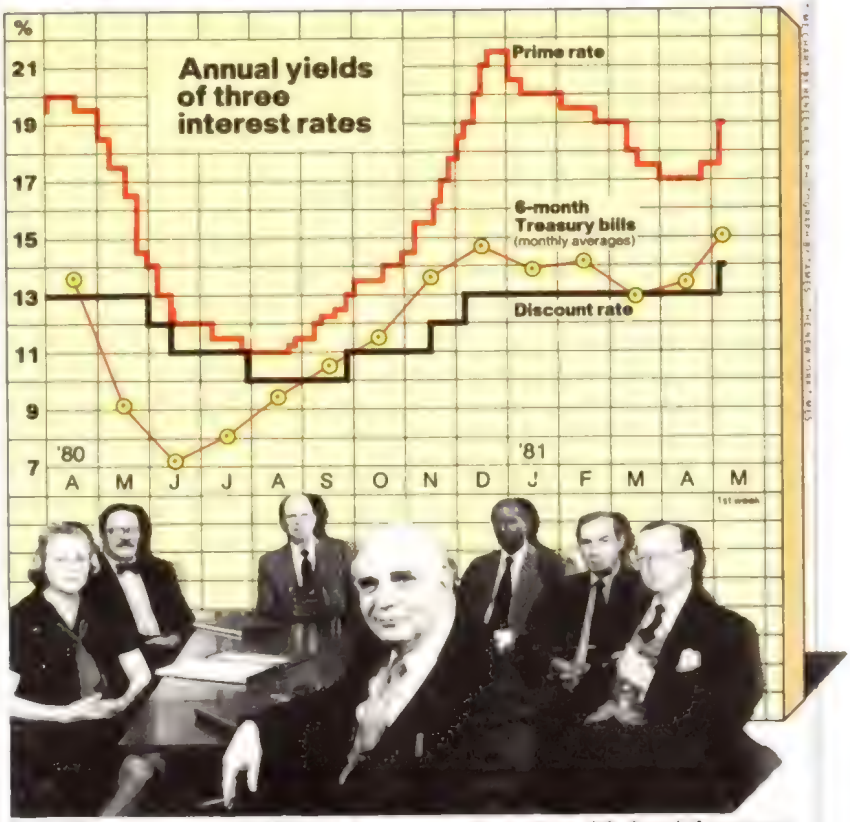
The U.S. central bank moved swiftly to counter the expansion in the money supply. On Monday it raised its discount rate from 13% to a record 14%. Banks that borrow from the central bank to meet their own reserve requirements will now have to pay that rate, plus a 4% penalty if they borrow too frequently, bringing the total cost of funds to some banks to 18%. At the same time, the central bank allowed the federal funds rate, the interest charged by banks on overnight loans to each other, to rise above 20%. The hoped-for result of last week's action: borrowing will lessen, demand for goods and services will ease, the economy will slow down, and inflation will ameliorate.

Laudable though these goals may be, the Fed's action was not joyously welcomed on Wall Street, where investors have much the same attitude toward escalating interest rates as W.C. Fields had toward children and small animals. The day of the discount rate hike, the Dow Jones industrial average plunged 16 points; the next day it lost another 7. There was some recovery as the week wore on, and the Dow closed Friday at 976.40, still well below its high this year of 1024, set only a few days before the discouraging money-supply report.

In bond markets, conditions were even worse, as prices plunged. The Reserve Bank's clampdown came at a particularly bad time for the U.S. Treasury. It auctioned $6.75 billion in long-term bonds and notes last week, and the jump in interest rates meant that the Government was forced to offer investors considerably more than had been anticipated: 14.56% on ten-year notes and 13.99% on 30-year bonds. In February ten-year notes were being sold at 12.89% interest.

Last week's money markets reflected, in part, a growing uneasiness in some sectors of the financial community over whether the Reagan Administration is on the right track toward lowering inflation. The leaders of this group of skeptics are Henry Kaufman, chief economist for Salomon Bros., and Albert M. Wojnilower, chief economist of the First Boston Inc. Both men are among Wall Street's most respected figures, and both are critics of the Reagan Administration's version of supply-side economics. Kaufman believes that increased military spending, without more cuts in social spending, and a large tax cut will increase inflation and send interest rates flying to new highs.

Almost as if to support some of those sentiments and set the stage for tighter Administration policy later, Treasury Secretary Donald Regan warned last week that unless the Government contin-



Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker, foreground, with members of the board of governors

Rates like those the Mafia loan sharks once charged their least creditworthy customers

ued its drive against spending, interest rates and the federal budget deficit would be sharply higher. He foresaw a swollen fiscal 1981 budget deficit by Sept. 30 of $60 billion as the Government scrambles to meet mushrooming interest payments on its debt. As recently as March 10, the Administration was predicting a far smaller flow of red ink. Regan also predicted that the top had not yet been reached on interest rates.

Most businessmen, bankers and economists, however, are more sanguine about the future course of interest rates than either the pessimists or Regan. They generally see the prime rate peaking at about 20%, perhaps a little higher, but then falling back to 15% or so by autumn. Other short-term rates will probably do the same. Walter Heller, President Kennedy's chief economic adviser, expects that an economic slowdown in the next month or two will pull down the cost of borrowing money. John E. Barnds, vice president, business and banking analysis at the National Bank of Detroit, feels the "general trend of short-term rates is downward." In New York, H. Erich Heinemann, a vice president of Morgan Stanley, said, "I think we're living through a temporary bubble in interest rates that is not likely to persist."

Despite last week's renewed concern that the rapid money growth would set off new inflation, the battle against high prices is, almost surprisingly, going better than expected. Thanks largely to the small glut of world oil supplies, consumer prices are beginning to slow down. The basic underlying rate of rise for consumer prices remains at about 10%, but the level of inflation for the first quarter dropped to an annual rate of 9.6% from 13.2% in the final quarter of 1980. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the Producer Price Index for April, a precursor of consumer prices, rose at a 10% annual rate, down from the torrid 16.8% pace of the previous month.

But qualms persisted about whether the Federal Reserve is doing its job as well as it should. Although the Reagan Administration officially supported last week's hike in the discount rate, several key officials, including Beryl Sprinkel, Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, and Lawrence Kudlow, chief economist of the Office of Management and Budget, have been critical in private about Fed policy. They argue that the central bank should control the growth of money more efficiently and worry less about influencing the level of interest rates.

Most economists, though, give the Federal Reserve and its chairman, Paul Volcker, high marks for at least trying to deal with the sheer massiveness of the money supply in a $3 trillion economy. One sign of progress: last Friday the Federal Reserve reported that M1B had declined by $3.6 billion in the last week in April. And Heller admitted: "I don't think that any human being knows how to control that money supply."

Meanwhile, the effects of interest rates, which are as high as those once charged by Mafia loan sharks to their least creditworthy customers, ripple through the economy. Home building is expected to be the hardest hit by the spiraling cost of money. Said Michael Sumichrast, top economist for the National Association of Home Builders: "Housing is dead." The steeper rates may also nip off the recent small spurt in auto sales. But economists generally believed that last week's jump in interest rates should not do severe damage to business in general. Said Otto Eckstein, president of Data Resources, a consulting firm based in Lexington, Mass.: "Housing and autos will suffer, but this will not be enough to trigger a recession."

One beneficial effect of the high interest rates was that they helped push the value of the American dollar on foreign money markets to some of its highest levels in years. The dollar rose to a value of 5.4 French francs last week, its best rate in ten years. European finance ministers, who less than 18 months ago were complaining that the dollar was causing international financial havoc by being too weak, now say that it is causing troubles by being too strong and forcing up interest rates in other countries. They would like to see the U.S. ease back on rates so that they could do the same and help their economies grow faster. In a complex world, there is no pleasing all of the people all of the time. *—By John S. DeMott. Reported by David Beckwith/Washington and other U.S. bureaus*

The Prime Is Anything but Prime

Many people these days keep an eye on the prime rate the way a baseball fan watches the major league standings. The prime rate, usually defined as the lowest interest rate that banks charge their most creditworthy customers, is no longer just an arcane financial statistic. It has become a subject for TV news commentators and cocktail-party conversations.

Few people actually borrow at prime. Loans to small, well-financed businesses, for instance, usually run from half a percentage point to three points above prime. Consumers who borrow to finance a vacation or pay taxes may pay three to five points more. Loans like those made to new-car buyers can be well above prime. On the other hand, interest on home mortgages, which now averages 16%, trails behind because such loans are issued for 20 to 30 years.

Nonetheless the prime rate remains the bench mark by which most people measure the cost of credit. But a new report by the House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee suggests that the once sacrosanct prime has become almost meaningless as a guide to what most borrowers—big or little—actually pay. The report, which mainly addresses the prime rate's application to business borrowing, found that it rarely applies to large, profitable corporations. They can usually borrow money at three to four points below prime, a discount reflecting the importance of the volume of their business with their banks.

Kleiner at the source of his ire

The committee found that during May 1980 more than 60% of the commercial loans granted by large New York banks were made at rates below the prime, then 17%. The average rate charged: less than 13%. Chairman Fernand J. St Germain maintains that the posted prime rate has now become an excuse for banks to jack up interest rates.

Even before the St Germain report, small businessmen across the U.S. were skeptical that the prime was really the best rate available. Snaps Robert Laughlin, a Portland, Ore., food-equipment distributor: "The prostituted prime is nothing but greediness on the part of large banks." Attorney Jackie Kleiner has filed suit against the First National Bank of Atlanta, alleging that it uses an artificial prime to discriminate among borrowers. Says Kleiner: "The prime rate is supposed to be the bank's cost of obtaining money, plus a small profit. But it turns out that the profits are obscene."

Some banks are now seeking to redefine the prime. New York's Morgan Guaranty Trust has issued a definition that sounds as if it were drafted by committee: "The bank's prime rate shall mean the rate of interest publicly announced by the bank in New York from time to time as its prime rate." Translation: the prime is whatever we say it is.

Beating the Cost of Mortgages

The bewildering array of new ways to finance buying a home

"I made the last payment on the house today," cries Willy Loman's widow at the conclusion of Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*. "We're free and clear." Many Americans still consider owning a home a virtual birthright, as well as a necessary inflation hedge. But today people are being forced to find ingenious and complex schemes to beat the high cost of achieving Loman's dream.

Mortgage rates in many areas have now surged to 16% or higher, and last week's tightening of credit will undoubtedly push them up farther. Although housing prices actually declined during the past three months, the cost of a home is still at levels that would have been considered exorbitant just a few years ago. The median price of a home in March was $66,700, up 7% in the past twelve months. In 1971 the average price of a new house was $25,200.

Today's high cost of borrowing has made the conventional long-term, fixed-rate mortgage as old-fashioned as Willy Loman's Studebaker. Virtually all banks in California stopped making such loans last fall. Hundreds of thousands of would-be buyers now simply cannot afford the big down payment or steep monthly charges involved in those loans. Herman J. Smith, president of the National Association of Home Builders, says that only about 4% of first-time home buyers can qualify for a 15% mortgage on a median-priced house. Therefore, people are turning to so-called creative home financing.

One solution has been for sellers to lend money to the buyers at a more affordable 11% or 12%. That cuts down on an owner's profit, but at least makes it possible to sell property in today's sluggish market. The National Association of Realtors estimates that half of home sales now involve some sort of seller financing.

Such deals, though, take business away from savings and loans or other lending institutions. Thus they are searching for ways to provide affordable mortgages, while still making a profit. Last month the Federal Home Loan Bank Board voted to allow savings and loans to issue variable-rate loans with interest charges that rise and fall with prevailing rates. The cost of the mortgage could be adjusted as often as each month according to an agreed-upon index, such as the yield on U.S. Treasury bills. Under this plan, a mortgage signed today at 15% might increase to 18% in a year or so, if interest rates continue to rise.

Lenders like the new mortgages because they do not have to worry about the loans becoming unprofitable. Many financial institutions today still have mortgages on their books at 6% interest, at a time when they are paying 17% or more to depositors. But the variable rate loans are unpopular with borrowers because of the uncertainty over the level of monthly charges. The payment on a $60,000 30-year mortgage at 9% is $483, but that same loan at 15% would be $758.

Home buyers who shop around will find a bewildering array of other financing gimmicks. These include:

▸ The Short-Term Balloon. Popular in California, these loans base monthly payments on a 30-year schedule in order to keep them low, but they usually also demand repayment of 90% of the mortgage within three to five years. The loans are often used by people who think that they are going to be transferred in a few years or by couples uneasy about the durability of their marriage.

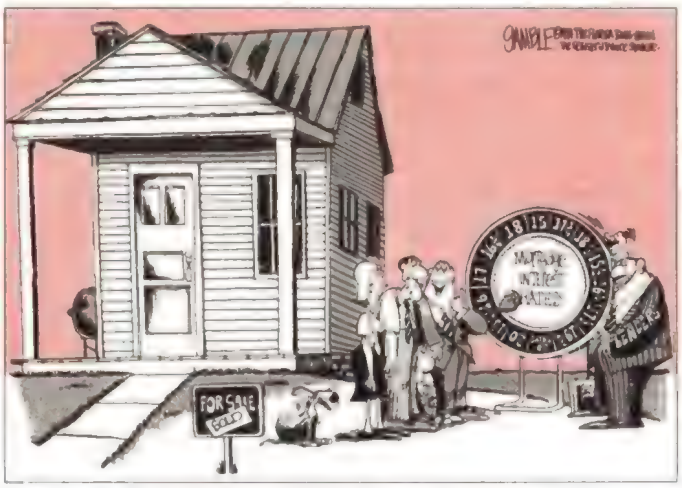
▸ Renegotiable Rate Mortgages. These loans, which are widely available in Chicago and Atlanta, give buyers more certainty than is offered by variable-rate mortgages. Interest rates are adjusted at regular intervals, usually between three and five years, but generally only by a maximum of 5% during the life of the mortgage.

▸ Graduated Payment Mortgages. This plan, which is popular among younger couples who believe that they will soon be earning much more than at present, keeps monthly payments low for the first five years or so but increases them sharply after that.

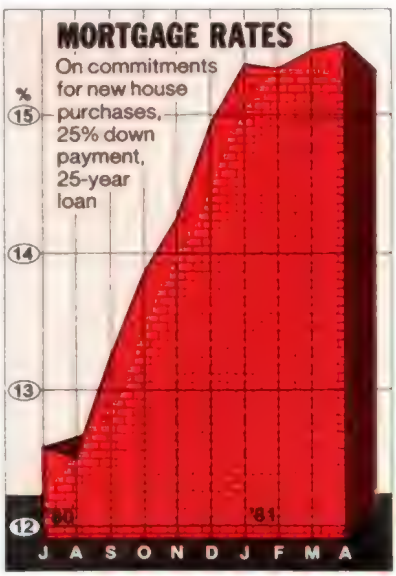
▸ Shared Appreciation Mortgages. Under this program, which was first used in Florida, the borrower can obtain a lower interest rate in exchange for giving the lender a share in the increased value of the house. When the property is sold, normally one-third of the capital gains that have been earned is owed to the bank or savings and loan company that made the loan. If the house is not sold within five years, the property may be appraised and the owner may have to pay the lender one-third of any increased value.

In Los Angeles, 80% of home buyers already use these and other nontraditional methods of financing. In one typical case, David and Jackie Bornstein paid for a new $295,000 home in Los Angeles with $110,000 earned on their old house, a first mortgage of $94,000 at 9.5% interest, a second one for $50,000 at 12%, and a third one from the seller for $41,000 at 15%. Then via a complex system of "balloon" payments, they were able to bring the actual interest rate down to 11.4%.

Financing a new home has now become so complex that the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry and a local builder, United Development Co., have installed the "Home-Finance Answerline." A confused home buyer in the Chicago area can phone, and a mortgage expert will demystify the latest wrinkle in local real estate lending. Since the hot line was installed a year ago, there have been 10,000 calls. —*By Alexander Taylor. Reported by David Beckwith/Washington, with other U.S. bureaus*



"Isn't this exciting? Now let's see what your next month's mortgage payment will be!"



Carlton is lowest.

Box or Menthol:

10 packs of Carlton have less tar than 1 pack of...

	Tar mg./cig.	Nicotine mg./cig.
Kent	11	0.9
Kool	16	1.3
Marlboro Lights	12	0.8
Merit 100's	10	0.7
Virginia Slims	16	1.0

	Tar mg./cig.	Nicotine mg./cig.
Benson & Hedges Lights 100's	11	0.8
Pall Mall Light 100's	10	0.8
Salem Lights	11	0.8
Vantage 100's	12	0.9
Winston Lights	14	1.1

Carlton Box—lowest of all brands.

Less than 0.01 mg. tar, 0.002 mg. nic. Carlton Menthol—Less than 1 mg. tar, 0.1 mg. nic.

Box: Less than 0.01 mg. "tar", 0.002 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method. Soft Pack: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine; Menthol: Less than 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine per cigarette, FTC Report Dec. '79.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

A New Driver

Teamster power rolls on

"To all those who say that it is time to reform this organization and that it is time for the officers to quit selling out the members of this organization, I say to them, 'Go to hell!' "

With those defiant words, issued at his union's 1976 convention in Las Vegas, Teamster Boss Frank E. Fitzsimmons underscored the brass-knuckles philosophy of union management that ruled supreme during his decade-long tenure as president of the U.S.'s largest trade union. Fitzsimmons' death last week in La Jolla, Calif., of lung cancer at age 73 makes room at the top of the 78-year-old International Brotherhood of Teamsters: the succession is not clear. But there seems little prospect that the union will change very much from what it was under the bluff and blustery Fitzsimmons.

Union Boss Frank Fitzsimmons and guests

Seeking friends by befriending Presidents.

This week the Teamsters' 21-member executive board meets in Las Vegas to pick a replacement. The leading candidate is Roy L. Williams, 66, a protégé of Fitzsimmons'. The president of union Local 41 in Kansas City, Mo., Williams began driving a truck in 1935 and joined the Teamsters three years later. As a trustee of the Teamsters' $2.8 billion Central States pension fund, Williams has been probed by federal officials for mismanagement and ties to organized crime. He has been indicted three times on federal embezzlement and records falsification charges, but never convicted.

Scandals stud the history of the 2 million-member union, which represents not only some 1 million truckers and warehousemen but also hospital and brewery workers, food industry laborers, police and other municipal employees, and workers in many other occupations. In the 1950s the Teamsters were often linked to labor violence and racketeering, and their president, David Beck, was convicted of embezzlement, larceny and income tax evasion.

Beck's successor, Jimmy Hoffa, remained under almost continual federal investigation by the Justice Department. In 1964 he was convicted and sentenced to a total of 13 years in federal prison for jury tampering, fraud and conspiracy in connection with pension-fund mismanagement. He began serving time in 1967 after his appeals ran out.

Before entering prison, however, Hoffa persuaded delegates to the union's 1966 convention to elect Fitzsimmons to the newly created post of general vice president, to watch over day-to-day Teamster affairs in the boss's absence. Fitzsimmons had worked for Hoffa in various union posts since 1934 and was considered little more than a yes man.

In 1971 Hoffa was released from Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary after agreeing to resign as president and seek no other union office. Fitzsimmons, who had in the meantime solidified his power within the Teamsters, became president in his own right. Later Hoffa, who suspected Fitzsimmons of engineering the terms of Hoffa's release for his own ambitions, disavowed the agreement with federal authorities, raising the possibility that he would try to regain the union presidency at the 1976 Teamster convention. He never got the chance: in 1975 Hoffa disappeared, almost certainly murdered, and his body has never been found or the case solved

The union's difficulties with the law have never crimped its political clout. Last year the Teamsters were one of only two unions (the other: the National Maritime Union) to support the candidacy of Ronald Reagan. The Teamsters got their reward. In November, Reagan and George Bush paid a courtesy call at Teamster headquarters. The President eulogized Fitzsimmons last week as "a powerful voice in the American labor movement," and a man who had "won the respect of both business and political leaders throughout the nation."

The Reagan Administration has also paid attention to Teamster preferences in selecting top officials. Last week the White House announced the nomination of Nevada Lawyer Reese H. Taylor Jr. as chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which regulates much of the nation's trucking business. As the law partner of Republican Senator Paul Laxalt, he has represented a number of trucking firms before the Nevada Public Service Commission. His appointment is favored by the Teamsters. Under Jimmy Carter, the ICC angered the Teamsters by moving rapidly to deregulate interstate trucking and increase competition from nonunion truckers. Taylor is not expected to push deregulation so zealously. ■

Dutch Treat

Fokker's challenge to Boeing

When it comes to flying high, few businessmen can measure up to Frans Swarttouw, 49, of The Netherlands. Having built Rotterdam's container-ship terminal into a key operation of the world's biggest and busiest deepwater port, Swarttouw took command three years ago of Holland's weak and floundering Fokker aircraft company and promptly set about developing a strategy to propel it into the front ranks of the world's airframe manufacturers.

Last week in Amsterdam, Swarttouw announced that Fokker (1980 sales: $450 million) and McDonnell Douglas Corp. of St. Louis (1980 sales: $6.06 billion) were preparing to link up and build a Fokker-designed 150-seat, medium-range passenger jet. The companies hope the plane will grab a share of the emerging new replacement market for the McDonnell Douglas DC-9, the Boeing 737 and the Boeing 727, the aging workhorse of airlines from Singapore to Stockholm.

Analysts estimate the replacement market to be worth $55 billion, yet neither Fokker nor McDonnell Douglas alone has the $1 billion–plus in development costs for such a plane from the wheels up. Fokker, though, has done extensive work on exactly the sort of brand-new fuel-efficient, medium-range jet the market requires. The new venture will be a giant gamble, but Swarttouw calmly says, "There are two ways to go broke. Do nothing, or do something."

Boeing and Lockheed both expressed interest in Fokker's designs, but Lockheed lacked sufficient funds to go ahead with the project, while Boeing proposed a deal that would have relegated Fokker to the role of a subcontractor. In McDonnell Douglas, Swarttouw found a perfect fit. The deal was finally cut during three months of secret meetings earlier this year, many of them taking place in hotel rooms booked under the name of a nonexistent corporation called Pegasus Inc.

Other airframe makers are also eager to grab a piece of the replacement market. Yet not even Boeing, which has manufactured 55% of all commercial planes now in service in the non-Communist world, can afford the escalating prices of building a replacement aircraft. As a result, the company is discussing plans with potential Japanese partners to help pay the development costs. But last week Swarttouw was also in Japan looking for another partner. ■

A lot of car makers today are trying to sell you economy with EPA figures. But at Volvo, we believe true economy isn't more miles per gallon. It's more years per car.

So if you just want to buy less gas and save a little money, look at EPA figures. But if you like the idea of buying fewer cars and saving a lot, consider Volvo's figures.

***Average life expectancy of a Volvo in Sweden. Driving conditions in the United States may differ. So your Volvo may not last as long. Then again, it may last longer.**

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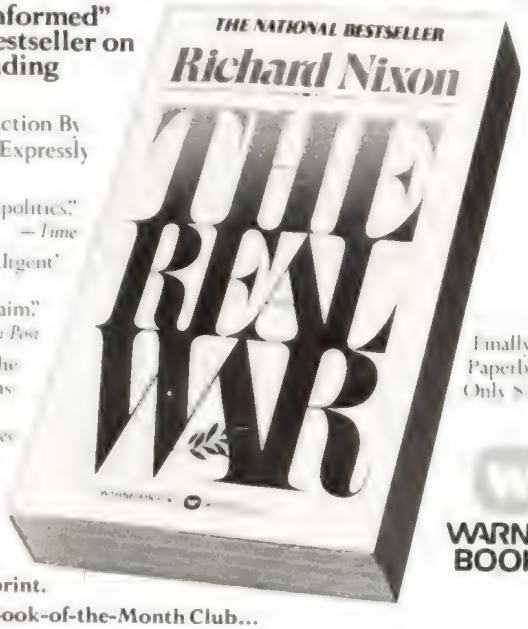

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"Informercials"

Soft-selling on cable TV

It seemed to lumber ponderously down the runway for years, but now cable television is definitely airborne. A quarter of the nation's 77.8 million TV homes are hooked up to one of the 4,600 local cable companies that pipe into living rooms everything from first-run movies, hard-sell religion and soft-core porn shows to kiddie programs and the proceedings of Congress live. Cable-systems owners, present or prospective, are as hot on Wall Street as genetic engineering firms, and advertisers are beginning to eye cable TV as a promising vehicle for commercials. Though at present a mere $45 million in cable-television revenue comes from advertising, in contrast with more than $11 billion for over-the-air television networks and stations, that amount is expected to leap to $1.5 billion by the end of the decade. Says Carl Ally, chairman of the Ally & Gargano ad agency in New York City: "While the big three networks are chewing at each other, cable and other technologies will eat at them from the bottom."

For advertisers, commercials on cable TV offer a more specialized audience at a fraction of the cost of time on regular shows. A 30-second ad on one of the three dozen or more national networks that have grown up to service local cable channels costs only about $500, while the three major networks charge an average of $70,000 in prime time. And since cable TV can easily provide viewers with programs on 100 or more channels that carry only sports, for example, an advertiser can make a longer pitch on a single subject.

Cable TV ads are, so far, usually just the same frenetic 30-second spots seen on the mainline channels. Cable News Network, Ted Turner's 24-hour all-news channel from Atlanta, carries the standard commercials for Quaker Oats, Holiday Inns and others.

Leading advertisers, though, are testing a totally new type of commercial, or "informercial" as they call them, that will soon be used widely on cable television. These will range in length from 30 minutes to four hours. Sears, for example, could buy half an hour of air time to explain how to redecorate a porch, with Sears paint and Craftsman tools, of course. Ads comparing brand-name products, extolling the merits of one over the other, could be dealt with in laborious detail. Says Michael Dann, senior program adviser to ABC's Video Enterprises: "The advertiser who wants to spell out the differences between Phillips' Milk Of Magnesia and Pepto-Bismol is going to get a hell of a lot more time to do it."

Some informercials are already being carried on the *Home Shopping Show* by the Modern Satellite Network. The weekly half-hour program, which reaches 3.8 million households in every state, consists of nonstop commercials in a talk show format. Advertisers normally buy nine minutes of air time to discuss their product or explain how it works. This week Revlon will tape its first informercial, which demonstrates how to give its Realistic Instant Styling permanents at home. Other advertisers on the show include Pillsbury, Mr. Coffee and Encyclopaedia Britannica.

A public long accustomed to ads on regular TV seems to accept them readily on cable shows. A survey by the New York ad agency Benton & Bowles showed that almost half of those who do not now have pay cable television said they would gladly hook up, when the system is offered, even if it carried ads. ■

Blade Battle

Cuisinart vs. *Robot-Coupe*

"Tell her she's the best by giving her the best food processor you can buy." That was the Mother's Day message to devoted husbands in an ad campaign that climaxed last week for the Cuisinart, the mechanical marvel that slices, dices, grinds and grates to produce treats ranging from paté to peanut butter. Cuisinarts, Inc. of Greenwich, Conn., which sells processors of various sizes, priced from $100 to $260, had good reason to launch the commercial blitz. Its status as the Cadillac of kitchen cutters is being seriously challenged by Robot-Coupe, the French firm whose founder, Pierre Verdun, invented the machines in 1963.

Food processors became a favorite tool of American gourmets after Carl Sontheimer, 67, a portly retired electronics engineer from Connecticut, saw them at a French housewares show in 1971. Sontheimer soon signed an agreement with the manufacturer, Robot-Coupe, to market the processors in the U.S. under the trade name Cuisinart. Food mavens like Julia Child and Craig Claiborne immediately pronounced the machine *magnifique*, and sales took off.

But in 1977, according to Sontheimer, trouble began. He claims that he was forced to reject more than 15% of 12,000 machines shipped from France because they were defective. Recalls Sontheimer: "It was a major disaster, and by then I'd really had it. Robot-Coupe was not innovative, and their quality control was low." He struck a deal with a Japanese manufacturer to produce new models of the Cuisinart to augment his line, and before long he was selling more Japanese than French processors. Outraged executives at Robot-Coupe charged that Sontheimer was no longer promoting their models, and last year they severed his French connection.

Champion

Challenger

Robot-Coupe recruited Alvin Finesman, 51, who until 1979 had been the Cuisinart marketing director in the U.S., to lead its American offensive. Finesman, a wiry backslapper and pure salesman who at 13 peddled cigars in bars and brothels in Ohio, took up his campaign with gusto. Some early magazine ads for the French imports bore the slogan, "Robot-Coupe. It's pronounced Robo-Coop. (It used to be pronounced Cuisinart.)"

Sontheimer sued Robot-Coupe, charging that the firm was trying to fool the public into thinking that Cuisinart had changed its name. A court enjoined Robot-Coupe from continuing that particular ad, so Finesman's campaign now reads: "There are many food processors made in Japan. The original is still made in France." Retailers report that the Robot-Coupe is selling well but is still far behind the the Cuisinart.

Which of the food processors is better? The Cuisinart has a larger opening for feeding food into the machine, but Robot-Coupe offers models with slightly more powerful motors. Culinary experts are divided in their loyalties, and many agree with Russell Reitz, manager of Cook's Mart in Chicago, which offers its customers both: "There is virtually no difference in performance or price between the two processors." With the gourmet grinders, as in so many aspects of cooking, it is *chacun à son goût:* each to his own taste. ■

The jagged new topography of Mount St. Helens: no longer a regular cone but resembling a broken tooth

Slowly, the Wounds Begin to Heal

A year later, lethal Mount St. Helens blossoms with life

One of the wonders—and blessings—of the world is the immense power of nature to regenerate itself, the tenacity that all life shows as it tries to heal its wounds and survive. Nowhere is this capacity more evident today than in southwestern Washington. It is just a year since Mount St. Helens exploded with a blast releasing 500 times as much energy as the bomb that leveled Hiroshima, and sending a cubic mile of earth into the air. Torrents of hot mud went coursing down the mountainside, flattening trees for miles around and turning the Toutle River into a flood of sludge that swept away several bridges. The eruption killed 34 people, demolished 178 homes and devastated hundreds of thousands of acres, much of it rich timberland. By the time the dust cleared, 150 sq. mi. of once green countryside lay lifeless, under what looked like a heavy fall of gray snow.

Those who witnessed the devastation thought the land would never recover. "It was the most awesome thing I will ever see in my life," recalls Logger Carl McCrary. "It was gray everywhere, no sign of green." Yet today animals and plants are re-establishing themselves all over the ash-blanketed countryside. Residents of the region are putting their own lives back together too.

Evidence of the volcano's power remains abundant. The high slopes are still covered with tree trunks, some more than 400 years old, some a mere seven, their roots pointing back toward the source of the shock wave that flattened them. Just below the mountain stands Coldwater Lake. A year ago, it was the highly scenic source of a creek that fed the Toutle River. Now the valley through which the Toutle flowed is blocked by a 600-ft.-tall wall of volcanic mud and debris. The lake has been slowly filling with dirty water, threatening to overflow eventually and send a torrent of mud downstream.

The eruption, May 18, 1980

"The most awesome thing I will ever see."

Above this devastation towers the still threatening mountain itself. Because the explosion literally blew the top off Mount St. Helens, its height has been reduced from 9,677 ft. to 8,300. Its shape has changed from a symmetrical, Fujiyama-like cone to a lopsided pyramid that resembles a broken tooth. Occasionally it still puffs smoke and steam.

Only two months after the eruption, small green parsley ferns and skunk cabbage were found pushing through the volcanic ash in sheltered areas along a creek on the mountain slope. Now the pink flowers of fireweed, a low-growing bush that is traditionally one of the first plants to colonize disturbed areas, have begun to add a touch of color to slopes and clear areas, still covered with ash and mud. Lupines are beginning to grow along erosion channels. Tiny fir trees, freed from competition with their fallen parents, are expected to take advantage of the extra sunlight and make a quick comeback. Scientists say that nutrients from the volcanic ash—such as phosphorus and potassium—could actually enhance their growth. As if to prove the point, some farm areas that were dusted with ash had record harvests of wheat and apples last year.

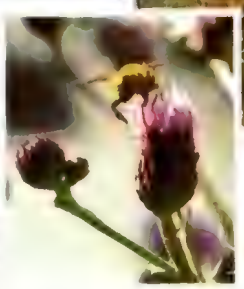
Animals are also reappearing. Pocket gophers, once regarded as pests because they eat young conifers, may prove to be man's allies: their labyrinthine burrowing improves soil aeration and helps water flow through the compacted ash. Elk and deer have been spotted around water sources in the blowdown area. Though fish are unlikely to be seen in Spirit Lake for years, bacteria and algae have colonized the lakes to become the first link in a developing food chain. The insect population was heavily damaged, but scientists are now finding ladybugs feeding on the sap of green bracken ferns, which are emerging from the ash, and armies of black ants at work in a dried mudflow. Honey bees are hard at it among the new blossoms.

Another threatened species, *Homo sapiens*, appears to be re-establishing itself as tenaciously as the lichens that grow on the mountain's rocks. A few people fled the area after last year's eruption, too nervous to stay or too stunned and depressed to rebuild their disrupted lives. A handful of local loggers and their families emigrated to Alaska to avoid having to live near the volcano. But most are making money cleaning up. Tom Henderson, a foreman of a team of loggers working to salvage what might be as much as $50 million worth of downed timber for Weyerhaeuser Co., gets $11.80 an

hour, plus a $6-a-day hazardous-duty bonus. So does Norm Pettit, who came from Coos Bay, Ore., because "this is the only boom area in logging in the county." Jobs with cleanup and logging crews have attracted enough newcomers to push enrollment in the Toutle school district from a pre-eruption 502 children to a current 551.

Of those people who have remained, a few show signs of delayed stress, which Therapist David Hawkins of the Lower Columbia Mental Health Center refers to as "the Mount St. Helens syndrome." Many acknowledge that the eruption produced heavy emotional fallout. "It was a kind of religious experience for many people," said one sidewalk philosopher. "A lot of people living together thought maybe there is a God and then went out and got married. When it passed, they got divorced." Some people grew cautious or suspicious. Grocer Greg Drew and some of his friends have bought radio scanners so they can monitor police and forest-service frequencies to get as much advance warning as possible of any new explosion that might occur. "We are not sure they are letting out all they know," says Drew.

A few homeowners were going to leave but canceled when the rush of tourists kept property values from plummeting. Everyone hopes to cash in this summer when an army of tourists—officials say it may exceed 3 million—marches in. Welby Spainhower of Ridgefield has a trailer-housed store with a view of the mountain and a stock that includes ballpoint pens filled with ash, 48 types of T shirts, and a record titled *Ashfall*. Clara Ottosen of Silverlake has converted a barn into a museum filled with Helenic artifacts, including the burned-out Volvo in which *National Geographic* Photographer Reid Blackburn was interred by a blizzard of ashes.



Bee collects nectar, left; worker plants fir seedlings in blast area

All are hoping, of course, that the volcano will cooperate by keeping quiet. But will it? Geologists are reluctant to forecast the future. Reconstructing last year's disaster with readings from seismographs and tiltmeters—which measure the swelling of the earth's surface—scientists have determined that the eruption was triggered by a magnitude-5 earthquake that shook the mountain on May 18, the day of the volcano. The tremor dislodged a flank of the mountain already swollen from rising semimolten rock. A huge hunk of the mountain rumbled downhill like a great sliding door, uncovering rock saturated with compressed gases. Exposed to the air, the gases exploded. Geologists are encouraged by the fact that the lava dome that has been forming in Mount St. Helens' crater now appears to be stable, capable of serving as a cork for the mountain's bottled-up gases and the lava that is still rising. But no one will say that Mount St. Helens is ready to settle down. The mountain, says one of her geological suitors, is too much like a woman. "Just when you think you've got to know her," he says, "she changes her mind." *—By Peter Stoler. Reported by Joseph Kane/Mount St. Helens*

New plant pushing up through ash

Fresh growth on mountain slope

Weyerhaeuser logging teams salvaging fallen timber in blowdown area

A Great Way to Snub the World

Miniature stereo tape players tune up a silent revolution

Inside my brain a dull
tom-tom begins
Absurdly hammering a
prelude of its own.
—T.S. Eliot

Sony's wee Walkman

The symptoms: eyes focused in the middle distance, a smile as wide as a convert's and a telltale glint of metal covering the ears. The body may undulate with faint intimations of a boogie. Sometimes the hands fly upward in imaginary conducting motions. No doubt about it, it is an epidemic, brought on by America's mania not only for music, but for the gadgetry on which to play it. On streets, in parks, on bikes and buses, the latest transistor toy is the portable stereo cassette player. Weighing less than a pound and smaller than a paperback book, it has feather-light earphones that transmit sound of concert-hall clarity directly to the brain of the wearer, without bothering anyone near by. As Detroit Audio Salesman Thomas Badoud puts it, "These babies are unreal!"

Unreal or not, people are now bowling to the Beatles, Frisbeeing while learning French, skiing to Shostakovich and jogging to Jagger. The thin wires of the headsets uncoil from Brooks Brothers blazers and Gucci bags, as well as from bib overalls and warmup suits. Commuters, pitchers in bull pens, shoppers hovering over the meat counter and sunbathers soaking up rays are tuning in by the millions. In Houston, prospective buyers of the Sony Walkman, the original device that touched off the craze last year, must sign up for at least a 60-day wait at major audio outlets. In the Boston area, the waiting period can be up to 30 days, and some dealers require the full locally discounted price of $170 to reserve the mini-Mozart machine. Says Harvard Square's Tech Hi-Fi Sound Consultant Douglas Corley: "Our sales depend only on how fast they can build them." Some 30 other manufacturers have rushed more than 50 competing models onto the market, ranging from $60 to $300. Some units, like the KLH Solo and Toshiba KT-S2, have FM stereo radios, and most accept such accessories as additional headphones, microphones for direct recording and AC adapters. Sony, which devotes an entire Tokyo factory to the units' production, this year expects to double its 1980 U.S. sales of a million of them.

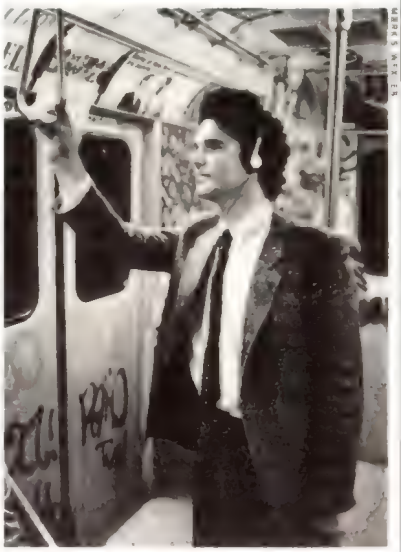
A skater and her stereo

Invented by Sony Chairman and Co-Founder Akio Morita because he wanted to be able to listen to high fidelity music while playing tennis, the sets allow the novelty of taking one's favorite music where it could never go before. Said Los Angeles Carpenter Howard Bogaz, 25, while roller-skating on the colorful Venice, Calif., strand: "I use it while I'm working, I take it when I ski or on long drives. I'm into my music! The sun is out, the wind is blowing, and you're on your wheels!"

But rolling along with the sounds is also a form of aural self-defense for some, such as New York TV Producer Anthony Payne, 34. "There are buses, airplanes, sirens," says Payne. "You have to replace them with something louder, by force-feeding your own sounds into your ears." Manhattan Computer Executive Michael Starr, 43, suggests that the private concert "is a great way of snubbing the world. Can you imagine if Philip Roth had had one growing up? He'd never have written *Portnoy's Complaint*. He never would have heard the nagging."

It may be too much to hope that the invention will offset "the box"—the 20-lb. chromed stereo radio that thickens the air of so many American cities with noise pollution. But the mini-stereo makes possible a silent revolution indoors. Denis Ilkovics, a Belgian tourist, bought one in New York for his 13-year-old daughter. "I hope she'll use it instead of those loudspeakers," he sighed.

Hospital patients previously condemned to loud daytime television are blissfully recovering to Pavarotti, and some dentists offer headphones to distract from their drilling. Adds Boston's Corley: "People use them to fall asleep. I hear these things are going to replace Quaaludes." Detroit Law Student Richard Green has found one potential hazard: "I put on my earphones when I fool around with my girl-


A Manhattan straphanger's silent serenade

friend. But sometimes the cord gets in the way."

Getting in the way of traffic is a more pressing worry. Police are braced for what could be an audio-accident season this summer, with stereo-deaf sportsmen crossing the paths of oncoming cars. As for those behind the wheel, many states prohibit driving with both ears blocked, but few enforce such laws. "Motorists already listen to car radios that are so loud they can't hear our sirens," says Michigan State Policeman Wayne McKalpain. "If they put on headphones, they'll hamper our ability to respond to emergencies."

The Walkman, with its imitators, is a product defining its time, the way television focused the style of the late '50s. Says Detroit Psychologist Gail Parker: "The growth of these things is another result of the 'me society.' These machines are very selfish. When someone is involved in loud music, they're sending out a signal to the rest of the world to be left alone." Pinstriped Businessman Wade Schilders, 24, listening to Dvorak in midtown Manhattan, hits his "hot line" (allowing intrusion by real-world noise) to disagree: "Some people say the gadgets are isolating. But another person with phones comes up and plugs into your music or you into his. There's a camaraderie among users. And now I smile when I walk, because I like what I'm listening to." As he strides off, a truck driver leans from his window in appreciation of a shapely woman crossing the street, small earphones pressed to her blond tresses. The driver shouts to her: "I know you can't hear me, but I think you're gorgeous!" She may never get the message. *—By J.D. Reed. Reported by Nick Balberman/Detroit and Georgia Harbison/New York with other U.S. bureaus*

TRIUMPH TR 7:
IT DOESN'T CREATE AN IMAGE. IT CONFIRMS ONE.

In an especially perceptive insight from their enthusiastic review of this car, *Car and Driver* magazine said: *"The TR7 roadster is not for those who make a career of being fun, but for those who like to have fun."*

Car and Driver went on to say *"It tracks straight as a laser and speaks through the steering in positive, reassuring tones."* Naturally, the steering is rack and pinion. The five speed stick is smooth and precise. The two liter engine is lively and strong. The brakes are a combination of discs up front and drums in the rear. But the sum of all these components is a quickness and agility that you must experience by driving the TR7.

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The School That Works

At Blackburn, student labor keeps tuition down and grades up

It is a typical day at Blackburn College in rural Carlinville, Ill. At 6:30 a.m. a dozen sleepy students straggle to the kitchen of the Allison dining hall, where they will cook and serve more than 350 breakfasts for their classmates. By 8 a.m. other students are sorting the campus mail, collecting the trash or mortaring concrete blocks in a 52-ft. wall at the college's new handball court. By 11 a.m. still others are sweeping out the dormitories, trimming trees and shrubs, and feeding reels of magnetic tape into the college's computerized record system

The workers are not scholarship students with campus jobs. As Blackburn Development Director John Perry puts it: "I don't care if your family is going to give us a million dollars, you've still got to work 15 hours a week." At Blackburn, a small private liberal arts college named for the Rev. Gideon Blackburn, who helped found the school in 1837, all 525 students are required to work. Previous generations of students, in fact, built nine of the 16 campus buildings, the brick walls, foundations and roofs.

Since students work without pay, Blackburn saves about $1.2 million a year, mostly in construction and maintenance. But there are other savings. Says Blackburn Treasurer Roger Carothers: "We have a highly intelligent work staff that retires every four years, without pension." The savings are passed on to the students in the form of lower college fees. Blackburn still charges only $3,500 per year, including all fees—the lowest private college tuition in Illinois. While other colleges fear enrollment declines due to cutbacks in federal aid and a shrinking college-age population, the student body at low-priced Blackburn has more than held its own in the past five years. Says President John Alberti, who expects an increase in applications next year too: "A drastic cut in federal student aid could be a boon to us."

The Blackburn work program was designed in 1913 to help youngsters from the surrounding farm land afford a college education. In those days the college operated a potato farm and dairy; students lived in old railroad coaches while constructing the campus. Today the college draws students from all over the Midwest, including Chicago and St. Louis. With its low operating costs and an endowment of $12 million, Blackburn offers substantial financial aid to more than 80% of its students. These days, in fact, the work program is often used not merely for economy but as a character builder and educational aid. Says History Professor John Forbes: "There is a tremendous experience of being responsible." Adds a school administrator: "If one student throws paper on the ground, the next student will say, 'Hey, I'm the one who is going to have to pick that up.' "

Blackburn is self-consciously democratic. There are no fraternities or sororities, and the work program is run by an elected committee of 13 students. Though attempts are made to share rough chores fairly and to match students to tasks they prefer, the pressure grows too great for some: the dropout rate among first-year students at Blackburn is a moderately high 33%, some of it due to dislike of work, academic and otherwise. In addition to attending classes and meeting their quota of chores, students are expected to spend 30 hours weekly in course preparation outside the classroom. Sixty percent of Blackburn's freshmen were in the top third of their high school classes. A respectable 28% of seniors enter graduate school. The number of graduates who go on to earn Ph.D.s from top schools is high enough to rank Blackburn among the top 123 private liberal arts colleges in the U.S. And over the years the work ethic has paid off handsomely after graduation. Though Blackburn is a farm land college, many of its alumni have done exceptionally well in the world of business. And most think their success owes something to all that hard work down on the campus. Says Blackburn Dean Arthur Darken: "We see it as a way to develop students for effective careers." ■

Undergraduates rewire a light, wash dishes and haul material for the new swimming pool

Big Carrot

But can the state swallow it?

"At first I couldn't believe it," says St. Louis School Board Staffer Eugene Uram. "Then I thought, 'What a lovely, creative idea.' "

What intrigued Uram was a plan put forth by the Reagan Administration and the school board to integrate schools in St. Louis (where 79% of pupils are black) and surrounding suburbs (84% white). Instead of compulsory cross-district busing, they proposed to offer a remarkable reward to suburban whites who voluntarily enroll in some city schools and to city blacks who choose to transfer to mostly white schools. The Administration and the school board asked U.S. District Judge William Hungate to require the state of Missouri to pay college tuition for pupils who voluntarily transfer to increase integration: one semester of free college ed-

Education

ucation at any of Missouri's 30 public campuses in return for each year of participation in the program from kindergarten through twelfth grade. Says Craig Crenshaw, the Justice Department attorney who originally thought up the idea: "It's a tremendous carrot." The head of the St. Louis chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dr. James A. De Clue, agreed. Said he: "We are totally in favor."

The financially pressed Missouri government is anything but happy, claiming it cannot fund the tuition plan, which is likely to cost $6 million or more a year. Says Missouri Attorney General John Ashcroft: "The bankruptcy of the Justice Department's argument shows that they have nothing to offer but the state's own money." There was concern as well that the plan was unfair to students who did not transfer. For example, white students who come into a black classroom would get college scholarships for being there, while black classmates in the very same room would have no special incentives.

Judge Hungate's ruling is not expected for several weeks. Meanwhile, Justice Department experts in Washington note that compulsory busing between St. Louis and its suburbs would also be expensive. There is now no precise dollar limit on the tuition bonus. The St. Louis plan is very much an experiment, and it might not work. Yet it is clear that integration needs new approaches. Observes School Expert James Coleman, a busing critic: "One of the problems with desegregation plans in general is that they have been punitive. Children and their families have ordinarily not received any benefit, and they've borne the total cost." ■

Court-ordered busing in St. Louis

A punitive system that needs incentives.

Geraldine Chaplin and Dominique Sanda in Michel Deville's *Voyage en Douce*

Cinema

Roadies

COCKTAIL MOLOTOV
Directed and Written by Diane Kurys

VOYAGE EN DOUCE
Directed and Written by Michel Deville

Around the time they discovered blue jeans, Europeans discovered another American invention, the open road, and gave the genre some local twists, such as the persistence of class conceits. Bertrand Blier *(Going Places)* and Wim Wenders *(Kings of the Road)* established the itinerary; now Diane Kurys, whose *Peppermint Soda* took a fresh, funny look at growing up Jewish in Paris, follows that road. *Cocktail Molotov* is set in May 1968, when French students and workers virtually shut down their country. Alas for Anne (Elise Caron), that is the moment she chooses to defy her bourgeois mother and take off with her lower-class lover Frederic (Philippe Lebas) and his friend (François Cluzet). The trio have a vague plan: they will ship out from Venice and find happiness on a kibbutz in Israel.

Reality, of course, intrudes, in the form of stolen luggage and passports, Anne's pregnancy and the pull of events taking place back in Paris. Most of the film is devoted not to the young people's efforts at escape, but to their attempt to return and link up with what seems to them a generational rite of passage. That is original, and Director Kurys has a shrewd and sympathetic eye for adolescent foibles. In Caron the director has found a youngster who, though she has never acted before, has vulnerability and intelligence. Still the film seems inconsequential. Anne and her friends learn a few things and grow up a notch or two, the way people always do in stories of this kind. *C'est la vie, c'est l'ennui.*

Voyage en Douce insinuates itself much more memorably into one's mind. In it, two women who may well have taken part in the events of 1968 attempt to come to grips with the issues of grownup existence. Lucie (Geraldine Chaplin) is slightly the older, and definitely the less stable. Hélène (Dominique Sanda) discovers her on her doorstep when she returns from a concert. Lucie is leaving her husband because he has imaginary affairs and permits their dog to watch them making love. These may not be grounds for divorce, but they do indicate that a change of scene is in order. Since Hélène is off to look at vacation homes, she takes her friend on the expedition.

Through several days of house hunting they reminisce and fantasize about their love lives. These incidents include everything from casual encounters (both successful and not) to rapes. It is impossible to determine which ones are true, which are entirely fanciful and which are a little of both. Some are ironic, many are wistful. The exchange of confidences between two women who have known each other since school days leads to a deepening of their relationship that is very moving. As they become more open with each other emotionally, they become more open physically. This does not lead to a lesbian encounter, but it does give the film a distinct erotic charge.

It would, however, be wrong to suggest that this graceful, lyrical film is just a tease. *Voyage en Douce* is about longing —for sexual connections that are something other than briefly poignant or lengthily quotidian. There is a real feeling of regret when the two women complete their *voyage en douce* and return to their separate lives. —***By Richard Schickel***

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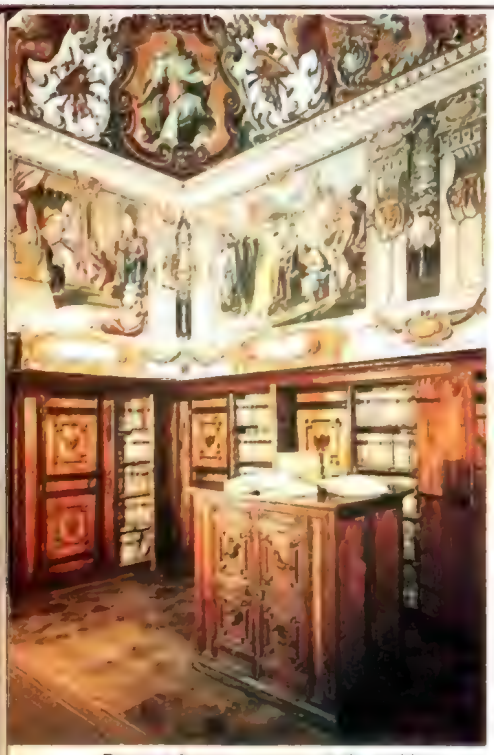


Baroque frescoes ornament the archives

Papal Letters from the Past

Voltaire: "Allow me very humbly to kiss your holy feet"

"Content the King in the matter of his marriage," the petition pleads, "in order to avoid the ills that may befall the church if his will is contested." The petitioners were right. King Henry VIII of England had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn and wanted a son and heir by her. He was determined to put aside his wife, Catherine of Aragon. But when Catherine appealed to Pope Clement VII, the Pope ordered Henry to halt his annulment proceedings. Henry, as the 75 bishops and courtiers warned in their petition to Rome, would not allow his will to be contested. When the Pope refused, the King of England broke with Rome.

The Reformation that befell the English church is nearly half a millennium past by now. Henry and Catherine have long crumbled into dust. But the 2-ft. by 3-ft. parchment petition, headed *Sanctissimo in Christo* and bemedaled with ribbons and the 75 red wax seals of the petitioners, looks as imposing as it did on the day in 1530 when it arrived on Pope Clement's desk. It was long filed away in the Vatican, but 100 years ago, the church opened its ancient archives to selected scholars. This year, to commemorate that date, the Vatican has put 236 of its choicest treasures on public display. Many of the documents are as notable for their exquisite calligraphy and design as for their historic significance. Until the end of the year, from 10 a.m. till noon, curious visitors can also see:

▸ A letter written in 1246 by Genghis Khan's grandson and heir, the Grand Khan Kuyuk, grandiosely inviting Pope Innocent IV and "the kings of the West" to a summit conference at Karakorum.

▸ A letter of 1535 in which Pope Paul III hires "our beloved son, Michelangelo" as architect, sculptor and painter for the unfinished church of St. Peter's. As part payment, the Pope grants the young painter all the tolls from a Po River ferry crossing near Piacenza for life.

▸ A letter of 1745 in which the distinctly anticlerical skeptic Voltaire, praising a book written by Pope Benedict XIV, writes "allow me very humbly to kiss your holy feet and to ask with the deepest respect your benediction."

▸ A miscellany of letters from Napoleon, Copernicus, Erasmus, Rossini, Queen Christina of Sweden and Mary Queen of Scots. Not included is the legendary erotica collection widely rumored to be hidden somewhere in the Vatican Archives.

The oldest specimen in the current Vatican exhibit is a *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum* that dates from the late 8th century and establishes regulations, worthy of the Pentagon, for the preparation and maintenance of ecclesiastical documents. But the exact origin of the Vatican Archives is unknown. As early as 303 Emperor Diocletian decreed that everything accumulated until that time be destroyed. In 410 the Visigoths stormed Rome, and the city burned for three days. The Vandals sacked it in 455, the Saracens in 846.

In 1309 the papacy moved temporarily to Avignon. Clement V, a French Pope who was elected by a French faction, thought his court would be safer there than in Rome. Toward the end of the 14th century, Gregory XI returned to Rome, but it took 445 years to retrieve all of the documents from Avignon. There are obvious gaps around 1527, when Rome was being plundered by the armies of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.

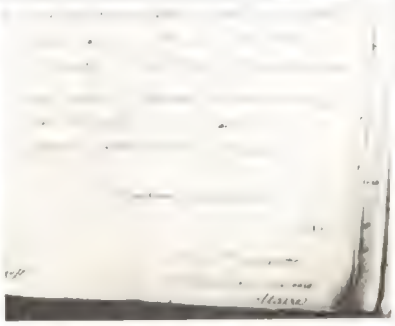
Not until 1611 did Pope Paul V order all the dispersed collections of church papers to be gathered into one central archive. Said he, in a decree written in 1612: "We order you, custodian of our archives, under pain of our displeasure . . . to allow no one whatever, on any excuse, to consult these books." Hardly had the papers been assembled when Napoleon seized the whole collection and carted it off to Paris. It was restored to Rome after the Congress of Vienna.

Today the archives are in the Apostolic Library, in the same building as the Vatican Museum. By 1950 the library extended onward and outward to include some 30 miles of shelf space. These shelves are crammed with thousands of bound volumes and huge leather boxes, most of them 3 ft. high and up to 10 in. thick. Each box contains

Gold Neapolitan medallion from 1739; Henry VIII's annulment petition with red wax seals

The illuminated codex of Cardinal D'Aragona, a masterpiece of 15th century calligraphy

Photographs by Vittoriano Rastelli—Courtesy Vatican Secret Archives



Fawning Voltaire letter to Benedict XIV

scores, even hundreds of documents.

One apparently insoluble problem: Vatican experts have only an approximate knowledge of where anything is. The effort to catalogue the papal treasures has been going on for more than 300 years now, and archivists still speak with awe of Cardinal Josephus Garampi, who managed, before his death in 1772, to inscribe more than 1.5 million catalogue entries, in strictly alphabetical order, in 124 large folio volumes. But since the millions of documents were all arranged by their places of origin rather than by subject matter, the problems of cross-indexing stretch toward infinity. And the staff numbers only 30. "If this were Germany," sighs one archivist, "we would have at least 300."

Perhaps the most poignant of the documents is a letter from Galileo to the Holy Office. It was written after the Inquisition had convicted Galileo of heresy in 1633, forcing him to sign a declaration that he "abjured, cursed and detested" the Copernican theory that the earth rotates around the sun. Under house arrest outside Florence, as he was to remain for the last eight years of his life, Galileo almost pathetically pleaded his innocence: "I am not of this opinion, and have not been of the opinion of Copernicus, since I was ordered to abandon it. Besides I am in your hands. You may do as you please."

The main purpose of the Tower of the Winds, built just before Galileo's time, was to house the Vatican's own astronomy laboratory, known as the Meridian Room. Here the progress of the light of the sun, on its eternal course around the earth, was measured as it entered through a slit in the wall. By the mid-1500s, the Julian calendar worked out by astronomers in Alexandria in 45 B.C. had fallen grievously into error. The spring solstices, for example, kept occurring two weeks early. So the same Vatican that denied Copernican theory used data compiled by a Jesuit in the Tower of the Winds to draw up the Gregorian calendar that was issued in 1582 and named for Pope Gregory XIII. Though the calendar makers devoutly believed that the sun moves around the earth, their computations proved remarkably accurate. The calendar errs by only one day in every 3,323 years. *—By Otto Friedrich. Reported by Walter Galling/Rome*

Theater

Plunderers in Magnolia Land

THE LITTLE FOXES *by Lillian Hellman*

Presence sometimes takes precedence over performance. That is the case here. Elizabeth Taylor displays more confidence than craft in her Broadway acting debut at the Martin Beck Theater, not that her acting is less than competent. But the audience is not intent on watching her act; it is absorbed in watching *her*.

At 49, she is something to watch. In air and bearing, she possesses regal command. Her arrant good looks, particularly those thrush-startled violet eyes, fix all other eyes upon her. On glimpsing her, Poe might have written his poem "To Helen" apostrophizing the most beguiling beauty of the ancient world. QE3 (as someone recently nicknamed Taylor) conjures up that grace and grandeur.

Regina is a role that permits her to be both sex- and bitch-goddess, to range from coquetry to carnage. Since *The Little Foxes* is an out-and-out melodrama, it relies on manipulated emotions and Taylor need not probe authentic feelings. Like all melodramas, *Foxes* provides playgoers with the grand fun of mentally hissing villains, crying over victims and cheering on heroes.

The joint villain is the Hubbard clan, a trio of plunderers in magnolia land. The family trade is cotton; its god is greed. The younger brother, Oscar (Joe Ponazecki), is a man with a sycophantic spirit and an ugly habit of slapping his genteel, alcoholic wife Birdie (Maureen Stapleton). The older brother, Ben (Anthony Zerbe), is a cigar-chomping Machiavelli. As their sister Regina, Taylor salivates in her lust for wealth, power and position.

The big chance for the big bucks comes when a wily Chicago entrepreneur (Humbert Allen Astredo) offers the trio a deal to build a cotton mill if the Hubbards will share the costs. The hitch is that Regina's share lies in the bank vault of her husband Horace (Tom Aldredge), who is precariously ill in a Baltimore hospital. He loathes the Hubbards for their vulpine avarice and has long been estranged from Regina. She sends the daughter (Ann Talman), whom Horace loves, to haul him back, and proceeds to cajole and curse him, but Horace is adamant.

An insipid but reptilian nephew, Oscar's son Leo (Dennis Christopher), raids the bank vault and thwarts his uncle. As Horace cradles the all but empty bank box, Regina goads him into a heart spasm and icily denies him the lifesaving pills that are just beyond his reach. After a few more calculated turns of Lillian Hellman's plot screws, Regina proves to be more fearsome than any little fox.

Without dimming Taylor's starshine, Stapleton pilfers top acting honors. As she portrays "22 years without a day of happiness," she is not tearjerking but heartrending. Aldredge comes in a close second. As Horace, he raises his feeble but valiant arm in a salute to the values of the Old South that is being displaced by the New. The throngs who jam the box office may not care. They have booked passage on the QE3, and on its maiden New York voyage that redoubtable vessel will be in full sail till Labor Day. *—By T.E. Kalem*

Humbert Allen Astredo and Elizabeth Taylor raise a glass to greed in *The Little Foxes*

Poe might have written "To Helen" for her, apostrophizing the ancient world's beauty.

Bugging Charles

Are the royal tapes real fakes?

The presses were already rolling at the Nuremberg plant of the West German women's weekly *Die Aktuelle* (circ. 550,000) when local court officials slapped the publication with an injunction at 4 a.m. last Friday. Facing a $200,000 fine or six months' imprisonment, the publishers nevertheless ordered the staff to proceed; by mid-morning, an outsize print run of 925,000 copies was being distributed throughout West Germany. The offending article: a six-page cover story headlined "The Whole Truth About the Phone Calls Between Prince Charles and Lady Diana: No Scandal, but Love, Longing and a Touch of Sadness."

Die Aktuelle was publishing what it described as transcripts of several telephone conversations that were secretly taped while Charles was touring Australia last month. The magazine said it had purchased the transcripts from a Munich literary agent who had obtained them from the British agent of Freelancer Simon Regan. Regan, 38, a longtime contributor to the sensation-seeking *News of the World* and antimonarchist author of *Charles—The Clown Prince*, said he got the tapes from an unidentified Australian who had bugged the Prince to embarrass the monarchy. But Regan insisted that he had not authorized their sale. As *Die Aktuelle's* staff tried to peddle the transcripts on both sides of the Atlantic (asking price: $50,000), palace reaction was swift—and angry. "If this is true," rumbled a royal spokesman, "this is a bad day for journalism." The palace won an injunction from Britain's high court forbidding Regan from "disclosing, divulging or making use of the contents of the tapes of the telephone conversations or publishing transcripts of them." Mid rumors that British papers wanted to publish the royal chitchat, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher denounced the transcripts as "despicable" in the House of Commons.

By the time *Die Aktuelle* appeared on West German newsstands, Scotland Yard had been called in to investigate, and Simon Regan was promising his full cooperation. Said the Prince's solicitor, Matthew Farrer: "We are quite satisfied that the telephone conversations of which this purports to be a transcript did not take place." That afternoon, British Secretary of Trade John Biffen banned the import of the offending issue. By Friday night, Charles and Diana had seen all of *Die Aktuelle's* transcripts. Their verdict: all were fake.

The transcripts themselves were not very convincing. They contained little that had not already been reported or speculated about in the press. Most of the purported conversations were completely innocuous. Diana is quoted as telling Charles how much she misses him, and pleading with him not to leave her alone so long in the future. Charles complains that he is bored with Australia and the lack of humor in Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser. Diana says some of her relatives are getting on her nerves as the wedding approaches.

Prince Charles and Lady Diana at Balmoral

"A monstrous invasion of personal privacy."

The London *Times*, in an editorial titled "Euthanasia for Eavesdroppers," urged British papers to refrain from publishing the transcripts even if *Die Aktuelle* did. Repeating bugged conversations, the *Times* said, would be the same as endorsing "a monstrous invasion of personal privacy." Some Fleet Street papers might not have felt constrained by this argument. But they faced a more formidable restraint than principle: the High Court ruling against Regan applied to publications as well. Thus on Saturday morning, though the story commanded headlines, not one paper printed the magazine's excerpts. The *Guardian* came close, paraphrasing portions touching on Prime Minister Fraser's sense of humor and Diana's reported surprise at learning her Prince had a bald patch on his head. For the time being, at least, monarchy-mad British readers would have to content themselves with sanitized hints. ■

Mugging Truth

A New York columnist resigns

Filed from Northern Ireland, the column had the vivid detail and emotional wallop that readers of the New York *Daily News* had come to expect from Michael Daly. Titled "On the Streets of Belfast, the Children's War," it described how British soldiers had wounded a 15-year-old boy when they used real bullets instead of plastic ones to disperse youngsters throwing gasoline bombs. But Daly's account did not ring true at the London *Daily Mail*. After an investigation, the *Daily Mail* labeled the column "viciously anti-British" and "a pack of lies," with at least 14 errors or outright fabrications. Its chief accusation: Daly's principal source, a British soldier named Christopher Spell, did not exist.

Coming less than a month after the Washington *Post* returned a Pulitzer Prize because it had fabricated a story, the *Daily Mail's* charges rocked the ailing New York newspaper. Daly was summoned to New York and questioned for more than three hours on Friday by *News* Editor Michael O'Neill and others. He insisted that his story was "essentially correct," according to O'Neill, but admitted using a false name for the soldier, a practice he said he had followed numerous times in the past. When Daly could not substantiate his story, O'Neill, the president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, asked for his resignation. Daly complied, "with the hope I will save this newspaper from any further embarrassment." Said O'Neill: "We cannot condone the use of techniques that imply that some things are fact when they are not."

A graduate of Yale, Daly, 29, worked for the *Village Voice*, then the *News*, where he quickly distinguished himself as a gung-ho reporter. Early last year, he was rewarded with a column. Questions had been raised about his reporting in the past, *News* Managing Editor Bill Umstead told TIME, but "Daly had always defended his stories to my satisfaction." Said one friend: "He was under a lot of pressure. He was trying to hit a home run every day."

Michael Daly

At week's end another long-ball hitter's work was under investigation. New York *Post* Columnist James Wechsler raised questions about an article last year by Teresa Carpenter of the *Village Voice*, and said he was forwarding his misgivings to the National News Council. Carpenter was awarded a Pulitzer this year for three feature stories, including the challenged piece, after the Washington *Post* had forfeited the prize. ■

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Poets in Search of Peace

THE MEETING AT TELGTE *by Günter Grass*
Translated by Ralph Manheim; Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; 147 pages; $9.95

Historical novelists commonly cast imaginary characters in real events. Author Günter Grass, 53, turns this standard formula on its head. *The Meeting at Telgte* teems with more than 20 German writers and literary figures, all of whom actually lived and worked during the 17th century. What these people did not do, however, is precisely the subject of Grass's novel. They did not meet together in 1647, near the end of the Thirty Years' War, nor did they sit down to discuss ways of uniting their ravaged fatherland through the power and the glory of the German language.

In conceiving and describing a happening that never happened, Grass is playing a sophisticated version of the what-if game. His point is not to guess how German history might have been changed if, at a crucial moment, the poets had rallied round the native tongue. Instead, he frames a long-ago analogy for recent reality. In 1947 a loose confederation of German writers and publishers did assemble, unlike their predecessors 300 years earlier. As citizens, they looked out on a divided, devastated nation; as artists, they found their language polluted by the murderous rhetoric of the Nazis. They argued and discussed literature and the writer's ability to heal his countrymen. They read manuscripts to each other and decided to convene annually, which they did for the next 20 years. They came to be known as Group 47; Grass joined them in the middle '50s and became the most talented and distinguished alumnus of them all.

It helps to know this while reading *The Meeting at Telgte*, for the novel is in part Grass's allegorical tribute to Group 47. But the book is also an imaginative leap, and easily accessible as such even to those unfamiliar with the details of German life in this or the 17th century. Grass whisks himself off to one of the many times in history when the sword seemed mightier than the pen. He watches poets gather at an obscure village inn, all of them taking risks to get there. Brigands and bands of hungry soldiers terrorize travelers; the local river yields up dead bodies. Ignorant armies have been clashing night and day for nearly 30 years. Food is scarce; there is "nothing left to cackle" in the village.

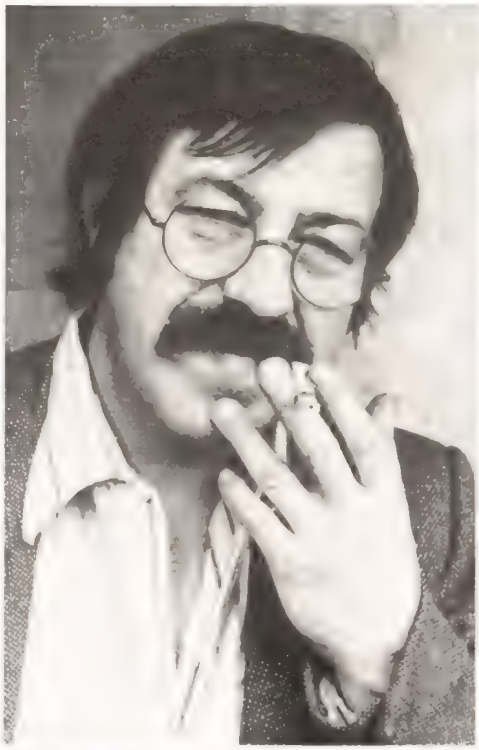
The poets' purpose amid all this carnage and chaos is noble: "Giving new force to the last remaining bond between all Germans, namely, the German language they held in common." Their behavior quickly proves unworthy of their unifying ideal. They begin by squabbling over the proper use of dactylic words. They fall into grim dispute "over the essence of irony and of humor." Thunderous abuse follows the reading of each manuscript. Worst of all, these noble spirits find themselves implicated in the cruelty of their age: the feast mysteriously provided them by Gelnhausen, a dashing young member of their entourage, turns out to have been tainted by violence and plunder.

Having lustily enjoyed the ill-gotten geese, pigs and sheep, the poets must swallow an unpleasant truth: moral purity is hard to maintain in an immoral world. To their credit, the writers accept and understand this lesson. Feelings of superiority begin to evaporate. The conclave that opened in smugness draws to a close with increasing humility. The participants realize that art must somehow protect its integrity while mingling in the mud and muddle of life.

To underscore this point, Grass gives the best speech in the novel to the rascally Gelnhausen. The discredited young man takes his leave, boldly promising the group that some day he will write a book: "But let no one expect mincing pastorals, conventional obituaries, complicated figure poems, sensitive soul-blubber, or well-behaved rhymes for church congregations. No, he would let every foul smell out of the bag; a chronicler, he would bring back the long war as a word-butchery, let loose gruesome laughter, and give the language license to be what it is: crude and soft-spoken, whole and stricken . . . but always drawn from the casks of life."

This description jibes perfectly with Grass's own fictional methods, particularly in *The Tin Drum*, a sprawling, picaresque vision of a later war. *The Meeting at Telgte* is considerably shorter and less ambitious than its famous predecessor, much more an elegy than an encyclopedia. But for all its brevity, the novel fleshes out serious old questions about the place of literature in the lives of nations. Grass allows his imaginary meeting to end on a note of ineffectuality. The inn burns down, and with it a peace proposal that the poets composed: "And so, what would in any case not have been heard, remained unsaid." Yet the writers part with good feelings all around: "After this, none of them would feel quite so isolated." They set off for their different destinations, still harboring the dream of all poets, that they will survive through their words and works, that they "will mingle with eternity." Grass exposes their vanities and weaknesses, but he also, lovingly, perpetuates their hope.

—By Paul Gray



Günter Grass: framing an analogy for recent reality

Excerpt

"No one wanted to miss the meeting . . . Those who lacked funds for the journey went looking for patrons. Those who, like Greflinger, had found no patron were carried to their destination by obstinacy. And those whose obstinacy might have deterred them from starting in time were infected with travel fever by the news that others were already on their way. Even such men as Zesen and Rist, who counted each other as enemies, were intent on meeting. Logau's curiosity about the meeting proved even stronger than his scorn for the assembled poets. Their local surroundings were too constricting. No business transaction, however intricate, no love affair, however diverting, could resist the force that drew them together. Moreover, the peace negotiations brought increasing unrest. No one wanted to be by himself."

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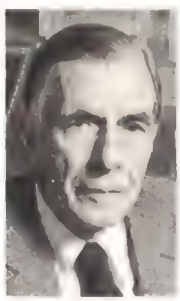
Books

Citizen Ken

A LIFE IN OUR TIMES
by John Kenneth Galbraith
Houghton Mifflin; 563 pages; $16.95

This affluent society has two celebrity economists. Milton Friedman is the short conservative one. The other, of course, is the 6-ft. 8-in. liberal John Kenneth Galbraith. The styles of these distinguished gentlemen also differ greatly. Wreathed in affability, Friedman delivers the chilly news that life is not fair. In contrast, Galbraith assumes the demeanor of a hanging judge and drolly intimates that life does not have to be as unfair as Professor Friedman says it is.

No one has ever accused Galbraith, 72, of generating much warmth from this slim ray of hope. "A commitment to losing causes," he writes, "is still a constant in my life." Perhaps. But few similarly committed public figures have succeeded as well as he. His attributes are many and formidable. The imposing intelligence and intimidating physique are obvious. His facility for understated sarcasm makes him a dangerous opponent on the podium or editorial page. Like Henry Kissinger, Galbraith can joke about his self-confidence without sinking in false modesty. Moreover, he is a diligent and productive worker.



J.K. Galbraith

A Life in Our Times, the author's 21st book, took six revisions before he was satisfied. To "combine composition with thought" does not come easily. Galbraith's task appears to have been further complicated by the need to budget space to accommodate his eventful public career. He has compressed earlier autobiography and summarized ideas presented in *The Affluent Society* and *The New Industrial State*.

Readers of *The Scotch* (1964) are reminded of the dour, industrious breed of Canadian farmers that molded the future agricultural economist, Harvard professor, Washington bureaucrat, journalist and diplomat: "A long day following a plodding, increasingly reluctant team behind a harrow endlessly back and forth over the uninspiring Ontario terrain persuaded one that all other work was easy."

Galbraith did not lay out his career in tedious rows. Teaching, Government service and writing follow a cyclical path. As a university instructor he feared "that my superiority would not be recognized." He found ample acceptance for his expertise in public service and journalism, first, in 1940, as a Keynesian economist for the American Farm Bureau Federation, during World War II in the Office of Price Administration, and then as an interrogator of Nazi war criminals and assessor of Allied bomb damage. Whenever Washington appeared to offer him an office but little to do, he returned to FORTUNE, where he had been an intermittent contributor since 1943. In 1948 it was back to Harvard, and eventually a full professorship. Galbraith's life cuts a pattern of exits and re-entries. Campaigning for Adlai Stevenson, for John Kennedy, and against the Viet Nam War fill important gaps; writing absorbs the overflow of his curiosity and energy. There are the bestselling books on affluence and industrialism, more popular works on the Depression and money, a journal and art book evolved from his years as Ambassador to India, and even a political potboiler.

Throughout, Galbraith is as laconic as an Ontario plow jockey. He offers little about his private life; his wit is a bit too mechanical, as are mordant observations like "Politics is not the art of the possible. It consists in choosing between the disastrous and the unpalatable." Yet Galbraith's air of detachment is satisfying. It enables him to place himself in recent history without seeming more or less important than he was. He is one of the few contemporary memoirists who have held the line on inflation. —*By R.Z. Sheppard*

Extended Wings

THE AUDUBON SOCIETY ENCYCLOPEDIA OF NORTH AMERICAN BIRDS *by John K. Terres*
Knopf; 1,109 pages; $60

Thoreau observed that man's urge to understand the natural world is often thwarted by his passion "that all things be mysterious and unexplorable." Former *Audubon* Magazine Editor John K. Terres offers a refreshing alternative: a 7½-lb., kaleidoscopic catalogue of the appearance, habitats, songs, ranges and nests of 847 avian species found in North America. Terres finds no need to overstate the complex marvels of the feathered world outside the window.

Nor does the reader have to join the 8 million-plus U.S. birders to enjoy the nearly 6,000 entries and 1,675 photographs and drawings in this striking tome. Terres wrote all the entries himself, a labor of 21 years, balancing the scientific and the popular, to please novice and expert alike. He updates ornithological subjects like mating. Some findings: scientists now call the hummingbird's brief passion "promiscuous"; birds fly by instinct, not parental instruction; a robin's natural life span can be as long as 11½ years, but its life expectancy, because of power lines and pesticides, is little more than one year.

Terres also explores the arcane richness of animal behavior and man's beliefs about it. Ibis guano, the reader learns, enriches the ecology of the Everglades by in-

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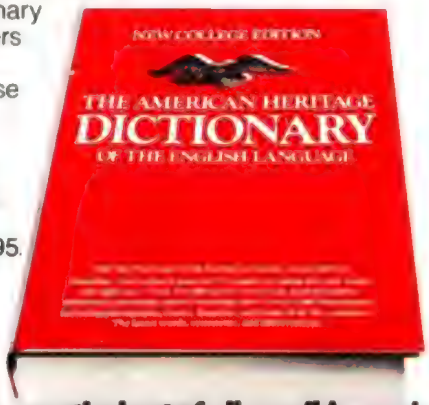

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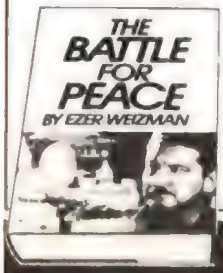

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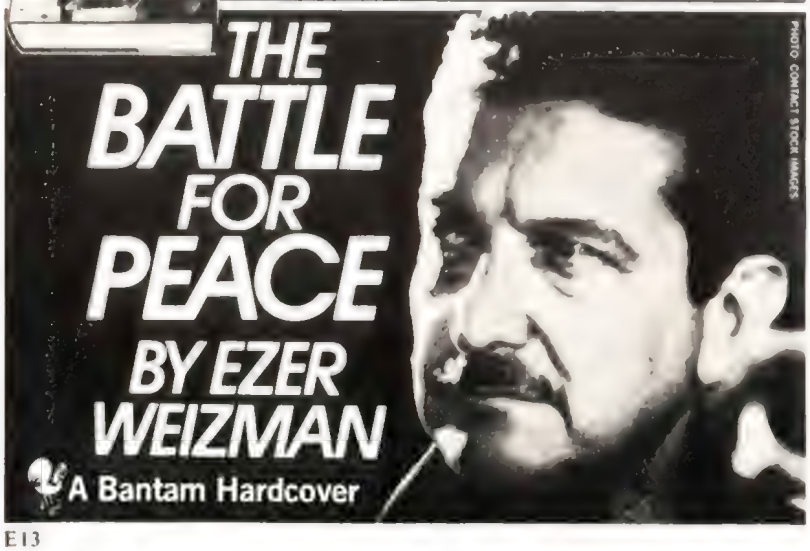

Books

creasing plankton growth; a loon can be imitated on the ocarina; geese occasionally become homosexual, pair-bonding for life even when heterosexual partners are present; an auk's egg is a marvel of engineering, shaped so that it will not roll from its cliff-edge nest

John K. Terres

Aristotle, says Terres, unaware of migration, thought birds hibernated in winter, while Icelanders believed that the whooper swan, after nesting, flew off to the moon. Closer at hand, songbirds poke crushed ants, rich in formic acid, into their coats to remove parasites; the common blue jay is obeyed by fleeing deer when he pipes his warnings; and the red-eyed vireo can give 22,000 encores a day of his song

Terres' monumental effort will be inspiring poets, librarians, astronauts and lovers long after the work's scientific value is exhausted and serious birders have moved on with notebooks and binoculars to newer texts. The *Encyclopedia* is literature rather than guide. Terres' observations of our nearest wild-animal neighbors offer an anthropomorphic comfort, and make the mysteries of Carl Sagan's black holes in other galaxies seem remote indeed. —*By J.D. Reed*

Best Sellers

FICTION

1. Noble House, *Clavell*
2. God Emperor of Dune, *Herbert* (*1 last week*)
3. Free Fall in Crimson *MacDonald* (*2*)
4. Masquerade, *Williams* (*3*)
5. The Covenant, *Michener* (*5*)
6. Gorky Park, *Smith* (*4*)
7. Tar Baby *Morrison* (*6*)
8. Creation, *Vidal* (*7*)
9. Brain, *Cook* (*8*)
10. License Renewed, *Gardner*

NONFICTION

1. Richard Simmons' Never-Say-Diet Book, *Simmons* (*1*)
2. Wealth and Poverty, *Gilder*
3. The Lord God Made Them All *Herriot*
4. Cosmos, *Sagan* (*3*)
5. Nice Girls Do, *Kassorla* (*2*)
6. Molloy's Live for Success *Molloy* (*6*)
7. Danse Macabre, *King* (*5*)
8. The Eagle's Gift, *Castaneda*
9. You Can Negotiate Anything *Cohen* (*9*)
10. William E. Donoghue's Complete Money Market Guide, *Donoghue with Tilling* (*4*)

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Why and When and Whether to Confess

It was the most aggressively competitive series of confessions since Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Like a sinner who does not want to miss any bets, Billie Jean King made the rounds of the major churches and synagogues of press and television last week. She unburdened herself to ABC's Barbara Walters, the one woman in America officially empowered to hear confessions and grant absolution. She went over the scandal with Rona Barrett. She spent ten hours with an old friend from PEOPLE.

Well, in the words of every high school football coach and that famous felon John Mitchell: When the going gets tough, the tough get going. King was bouncing back from public humiliation better than any similarly poleaxed public figure in a long time. She had slipped only briefly at the start of the whole ridiculous business. When her former secretary Marilyn Barnett filed for "palimony," claiming a long lesbian relationship with King, Billie Jean first responded with a denial.

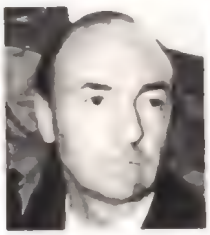
Then she got very smart, very fast. Her instinct for competitive public relations, as shrewd and sure as her court sense, told her that you only win if you control the game. She knew that the story was shaking loose, and that more denials would only put reporters into a feeding frenzy. She knew that if Barnett had to prove the sapphic connection in court, she could organize a parade of witnesses who would keep the tabloids happy for weeks. So King decided that she herself must manage the stagecraft of her public humiliation. Her parents on one side, her husband Larry on the other wearing an expression of indecipherable calm, she faced a press conference and admitted the lesbian affair; it was, she said, a "mistake." The homosexual rights movement may have curled its lip just then. And feminists, if they thought about it, might worry about the almost cynically unliberated way that Larry later took the rap for his wife's affair, saying that it was his long absences on business that drove her into the arms of another for consolation, like a sulking housewife. Never mind. Billie Jean practiced first-class damage control and won the grace-under-pressure award for this month. She managed to transform an ugly and preposterously public embarrassment into something else: an affectingly human little drama about Billie Jean King in trouble.

Billie Jean King

Robert Bauman

Wilbur Mills

Ted Kennedy


John Profumo

Richard Nixon

Perhaps her athlete's instincts told King that when the ghastly truth splits open like a suitcase, one's moves must be fast and sure. Public figures rarely have that aplomb: when someone abruptly turns on the light and catches them, they blink in astonishment and guilt or reach their palms out desperately to cover the lens of the minicam.

What is the best strategy to adopt when the undignified or even incriminating truth comes out? Reactions are always a matter of personal style and self-possession. The possibilities range from stonewalling ("Never apologize, never explain," as the British classicist Benjamin Jowett said) to full disclosure. Within that range there are as many subtle variations as there are shades of the truth.

Indifference is an impressive but somewhat risky ploy. Rarely do public figures command the easy Gallic disdain of French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. When *Le Canard Enchaîné* reported that Giscard had accepted $250,000 worth of diamonds as gifts from the Central African Republic's butcherous Emperor Bokassa, Giscard's reaction was roughly, "So what?" Of course, the French have a tradition of *Non, je ne regrette rien.* Across the channel, the Duke of Wellington once displayed something of that spirit when an old mistress (a Frenchwoman) threatened to publish all kinds of lurid details about his grace. "Publish and be damned!" the Iron Duke responded, or words to that effect. Grover Cleveland ("Ma, Ma, where's my pa?/ Gone to the White House—ha ha ha!") also managed a show of imperturbability about an illegitimate child who turned up.

The Fifth Amendment allows citizens to remain silent. But it looks bad. Emanations of a man's guilt, as Freud once put it, "ooze from all his pores." Even the hard, grim stonewall of the Nixon White House eventually crumbled. Richard Nixon, in fact, is a fascinating case study in the psychology of confession. The "Papyrus of Nu" from the 18th dynasty of Egypt records what scholars have come to call the negative confessions. Therein the Egyptian advises the gods of all the crimes he has *not* committed during his life ("I have not polluted myself . . . I have not carried away milk from the mouths of children" and so on) and concludes in an ecstasy of self-exoneration: "I am pure. I am pure." During the 1952 campaign, when he was running for Vice President, Nixon was accused of having an improper $18,000 slush fund set up for him by California businessmen. Eisenhower thought seriously of throwing Nixon off the ticket. Nixon responded with the masterfully corny Checkers speech, in which he pharaonically denied wrongdoing and told the nation about his wife's "respectable Republican cloth coat" and his daughters' pet dog. It worked; the country loved it; Ike kept him. Years later, his painful writhings during Watergate were ultimately unavailing, but there was some echo of the Papyrus of Nu in Nixon's "I am not a crook!"

After Chappaquiddick, in 1969, Edward Kennedy practiced what might be called the pre-emptive deflective confession. The idea was to assume the guilt in one large abstract gulp in order to silence any further specific inquiries. It did not work well for Kennedy. He spent a full week in a fortress of silence while the reassembled talents of Camelot labored over a text for him. Then he went on national television to take the responsibility of a young woman's death unto himself but also, simultaneously, to leave himself in a state of dazed blamelessness. His biggest mistake—all penitents beware—was to soak the speech in a disagreeable self-pity.

But almost everyone is mortal and clumsy when scandal hits him on the blind side. In the past few years an interesting though not always persuasive variation has become popular with

Essay

U.S. Congressmen: the alcoholic-deflective approach. Actually, it amounts to a plea of temporary insanity. Arkansas' Wilbur Mills began behaving strangely in public with an exotic dancer called the Argentine Firecracker. When he recovered himself for a moment, he told his constituents it all came from drinking champagne with foreigners. But then he landed with the Firecracker at Washington's Tidal Basin in the middle of the night. Mills got hold of himself, acknowledged to himself and everyone else that he was an alcoholic, and sought treatment.

In some peculiar way, alcohol has become a convenient way to mitigate public embarrassments. Betty Ford, Joan Kennedy, Billy Carter and others have reported that their unsteady, occasionally weird behavior resulted from drinking. That sort of confession can be exemplary and thus publicly useful. But in others it can also be opportunistic. Maryland's conservative Congressman Robert Bauman pleaded not guilty to making homosexual advances to a 16-year-old boy; Bauman, with his stricken wife standing behind him—her eyes glazed with that I-am-not-here-I-am-actually-in-Chicago look—told a press conference that booze made him do it. Then in the formulation of media penance, in which a celebrity hears his own confession before lights and cameras and solemnly grants himself absolution, Bauman announced, "I do not have to elaborate. I have confessed my wrongdoings to my God." If God has the case under advisement, who are we to pursue it?

Often it is not the act itself but the denial, the cover-up, that wrecks a reputation. A suspicion will always linger that if Nixon and his men had not tried to cover up, his presidency would have survived; if only he had got up and confessed *something*. If only he had made what the Catholic Church calls a sincere act of contrition. It was not so much John Profumo's recreation with Christine Keeler that finished him as Britain's State Secretary for War. It was the way he lied about it.

Some people, of course, go to the other extreme and produce detailed confessions even when nobody asked them. The nation surely had no "need to know," as the White House says, but Jimmy Carter confessed to *Playboy* in 1976 that he had felt lust in his heart for women other than his wife. That robust literary charlatan Frank Harris went to the trouble of inventing all kinds of elaborate sexual adventures to confess; with both Carter and Harris, confession shaded into exhibitionism.

Duke of Wellington

For sheer gratuitous detail in confession, for self-revelation that slips across the border into self-abasement, few can compete with former South Carolina Congressman John W. Jenrette Jr. and his wife Rita. Charged with taking bribes in the Abscam case, Jenrette denied his guilt. But then his life and marriage began to unravel. The Jenrettes went in for full public disclosure—and then some. Rita appeared in a spread of nude photographs for *Playboy*. She revealed how the Jenrettes, the most fun couple in town, had copulated on the steps of the U.S. Capitol one night. It was ultimately sad, a spectacle of self-destruction that seemed almost ceremonial, like a samurai's hara-kiri after a public shame.

In the somewhat sleazy pathology of their case, the Jenrettes forgot the main purpose of confession for public figures: to get the truth out, to have the embarrassment aired and cleared away as soon as possible, and then to begin repairs on one's dignity. Once privacy has been invaded, confession is very often the only means to control the way that the truth emerges, to script and stage-manage it.

But as Roman priests and Viennese psychoanalysts know, confession is also good for the soul. It purifies the conscience, discharges guilt and enables new beginnings. Psychiatrist Theodor Reik explained the clinical mechanics this way: "To suffer the anxiety of confession and the act of confession, which itself is felt to be painful, is that partial gratification of the need for punishment which we claim for the confession." Most confessions are privately made—to friends, priests, bartenders, spouses, psychiatrists. When they are publicly done, the penitent must pay the price of being a temporary entertainment to the world; that is the punishment, the penance of indignity. But all confession is a drama of accounting, a settling of disturbances, a way of making peace. Sometimes, as with Billie Jean King, it implies an odd and sidelong kind of redemption and even a curious assertion of our community with one another. —*By Lance Morrow*

Milestones

BORN. To **Patricia Hearst Shaw,** 29, heir to the Hearst publishing empire and former Symbionese Liberation Army fugitive; and her husband **Bernard Shaw,** 35, the San Francisco policeman who served as her bodyguard after her arrest in 1975 and during her subsequent trial for bank robbery that led to a 23-month prison term; a daughter, their first child; in Palo Alto, Calif. Name: Gillian Catherine Hearst-Shaw. Weight: 7 lbs. 15 oz.

MARRIED. Joseph Granville, 58, flamboyant Wall Street analyst and publisher of the *Granville Market Letter* (circ. 13,000), whose investment advice in January to "sell everything" was followed by a 23.80-point plunge in the Dow Jones average; and **Karen Erickson,** 38, a commercial artist; he for the third time, she for the first; in Kansas City.

DIED. Frank Fitzsimmons, 73, president of the 2 million-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters; of cancer; in San Diego. Fitzsimmons, a Detroit truck driver when he joined the Teamsters in 1934, served as business manager and vice president of the chapter headed by Jimmy Hoffa. When Hoffa was jailed on charges of jury tampering, conspiracy and fraud in 1967, Fitzsimmons became caretaker-manager of the union and later president, in 1971 (*see* BUSINESS).

DIED. Robert McNeill, 75, who as chairman of Manufacturers Hanover Trust from 1963 to 1971 led the banking industry in a successful four-year fight for federal clarification of how antitrust laws affect bank mergers; in Orlando, Fla. McNeill worked his way up from a small-town bank teller to become a vice president of Hanover Bank in 1940, and went on to help engineer its merger with Manufacturers Trust in 1961.

DIED. Charles Robertson, 77, retired partner of the New York investment banking firm of Smith, Barney & Co. who, with his wife Marie, donated $35 million in 1961 to endow the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton, the largest single gift in the university's history; of pneumonia; in Delray Beach, Fla.

DIED. David Wechsler, 85, chief psychologist at New York City's Bellevue Hospital from 1932 to 1967 and the author of a series of widely used intelligence tests, including the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale, the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children and the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale; in New York City. A critic of conventional IQ tests that measure only reasoning and logic, Wechsler argued that intelligence is actually made up of a variety of factors, including temperament, impulse and instinct.

DIED. Paul Green, 87, dramatist and screenwriter whose Broadway successes include the 1926 Pulitzer-prizewinning *In Abraham's Bosom* and the 1936 antiwar play *Johnny Johnson*, and who in 1937 wrote the historical spectacle *The Lost Colony*, the first of his 15 outdoor "symphonic dramas" that are staged across the country, mostly for summer tourists; in Chapel Hill, N.C.

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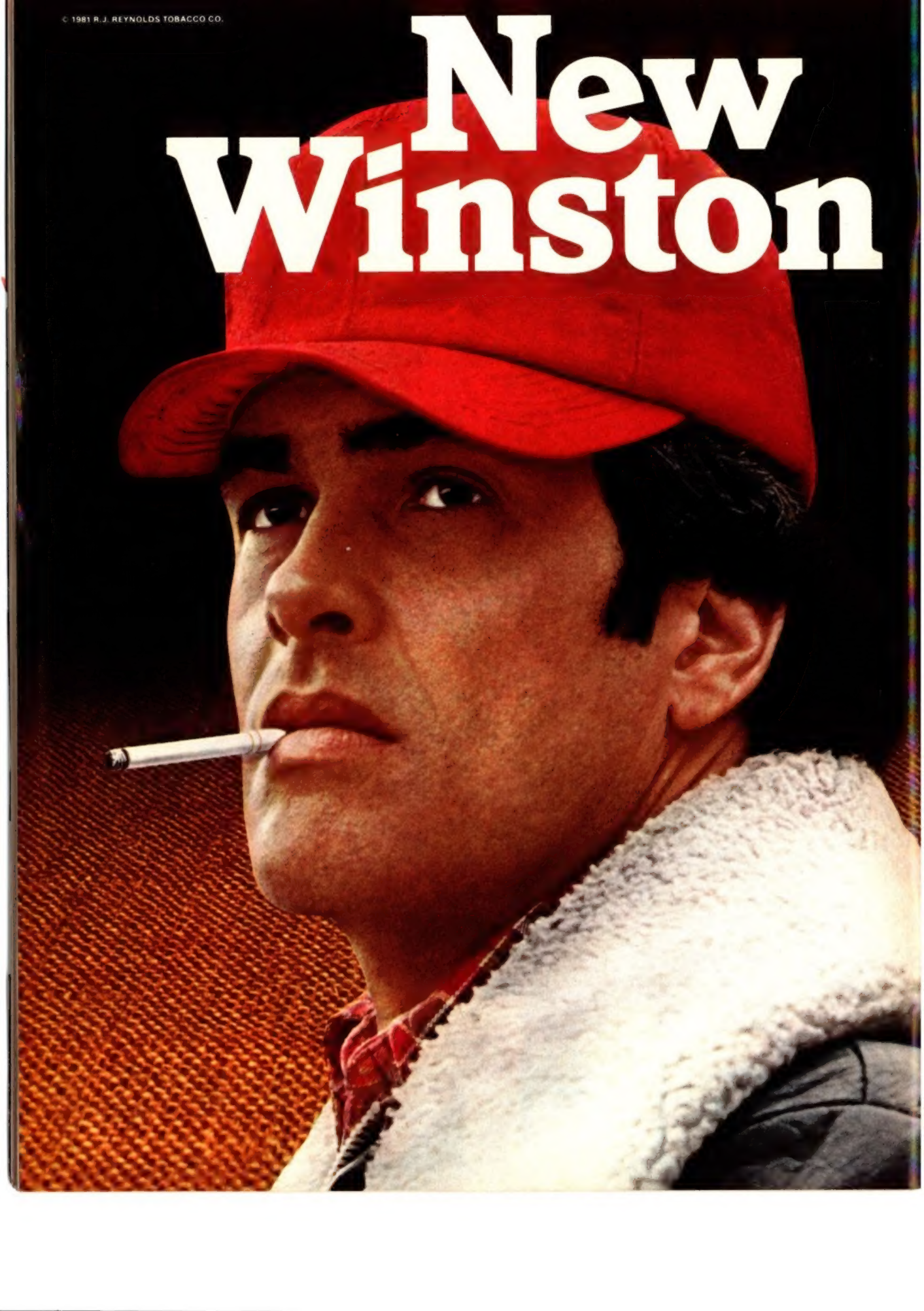

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